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EAST EUROPE REPORT

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CHANGING ROLE OF YOUTH'S LEISURE TIME EXAMINED

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 17 No 2, Feb 84 pp 166-182

[Article by Christiane Lemke: "Youth in the GDR: Leisure Time Policy and Behavior"]

[Text] 1. Stating the Problem

The topic of GDR youth's leisure time and policy is interesting for the Western observer from two aspects. The young people, 14-25, have grown up in the GDR; for this generation the relatively germane and new political, economic and social structural relations which emerged in the course of the past 30 years represent their general framework and the starting points of their individual orientations. The experience of war, the postwar situation, the profound economic and political transformations of the 1950's and 1960's is not theirs. To today's youth, socialism is a completed and "congealed" establishment. For future social development the question arises in how far the authorities will be successful in indoctrinating the young with the values and objectives of socialist social policy and integrate them in the process of social transformation. It is a cardinal question indeed for the continuity and stability of their rule.

The SED applies a comprehensive youth, educational and family policy to try and integrate the young in the social and political system, so that we may well speak of a changed type of socialization in the GDR. The shift of education and training to state facilities, the extension of the period of education, the changed role of the family, the influence of the youth organization and a purposeful leisure and cultural policy define the socialization of the rising generation. Though there are several points of intersection in these socialization processes, such as the transition from school to profession, and which are accompanied by new orientations, changes in living conditions, and so on, the breaks and erosions tending to be characteristic features of the course of socialization in Western industrial countries, appear in the GDR to take a back seat by comparison with continuity and stability. The steadiness and security of the orientations for living ascertained in studies of young people there seem to support this hypothesis.¹

While, on the one hand, youth steadily grows into the political and social context of society, we are bound to note that this process does involve conflicts and problems. The dynamics in the change of living conditions, the tension

between existing structures and youthful needs lead to repeated problems experienced by the young as individual or social rather than political conflicts. This is documented vividly and sensitively in GDR literature. According to West German literary critic Wolfgang Emmerich, GDR writers have for some time past dealt broadly and intensively with the situation of children and youths and, therefore, the relationship between the individual and society.²

Leisure is one of the areas where the political setting and youthful needs confront one another with some tension. While the social institutions of scholastic and professional education as well as the organization of the working conditions of young people are directly subordinated to political influence, this holds true only indirectly for life outside the school, vocational school and job. Leisure for the young seems to be a field for free individual organization and action. Western studies consequently tend to conclude that the young thereby compensate the social repression in school, profession or political organization or shut themselves up in a private world of₃ their own, and that this is equivalent to criticism or rejection of the system.

However, these far reaching conclusions disregard the fact that the function of leisure as such has₄ changed in the GDR. In recent years leisure has gained increased importance. The scope of opportunities for individual development in the sector of the non-work sphere has noticeably broadened by the expansion of the supply of consumer goods and services, longer vacations and cuts in working hours, the improvement of housing conditions and the infrastructure, and so on. At the same time, though, new social and political "conflict zones" have arisen, and these affect the functional relations of GDR society without challenging the political system as such. The enactment of the 1971 economic and sociopolitical program resulted in elevating the GDR population's living standard with all the obvious consequences and, therefore, in new dynamics of living conditions. The integration of these latter in a socialist policy is leading to contradictions at various points. The socialization of broad sections of the production and reproduction process is confronted with an increasing trend toward the privatization of the life of the individual.⁵ The attitude of the young to their free time and their changed leisure interests cannot, therefore, be adequately explained as "compensation" for social "repression." Instead it must be interpreted against the background of the change in living conditions and the changed function of leisure.

The following is intended to explore the question of the objective and subjective role of leisure for the young, the kinds of leisure occupation that have evolved and of the changes (if any) which have developed in the relationship between youth and society. This study is based on the results of a recent West German sociological investigation of the GDR as well as empirical and theoretical writings on leisure and cultural sociology as well as on youth studies carried on in the GDR.

2. The Young Person in GDR Society

The evolution of a separate social population group, summarized by the term "youth," is the result of the historic development of modern industrial societies. The conceptual definition includes not only aspects of age and developmental psychology but also a historico-social and political dimension. Central

in the GDR is not the age or generational aspect but the social status of youth. As part of the social class or stratum to which the young people belong, they are included in social policy. The objectives and intentions of youth policy are derived from sociopolitical rather than generation specific principles. However, the expansion of youth sociological and psychological studies, due for its part to increased sensitivity to youth problems, has had the result that just lately youth and generation specific aspects have been receiving greater attention and are more frequently discussed.⁶

Whenever, hereafter, I speak of "youth" or "the young," I follow the 1974 GDR Youth Law and authoritative youth sociological and psychological publications in so defining the 14-25 age group whose social status is determined by various special features in contrast to those below 14 (children) and above 25. Within this age group, the 18th year represents a turning point, because young people come of age that year and enter into the rights and duties of that status. In 1981, 3 million youths lived in the GDR, ranging between 14 and 25 years and accounting for 18 percent of the total population.⁷ Some two thirds of these young people are either working in jobs or as apprentices; the others are students of the tenth grade of the polytechnical secondary school or the eleventh and twelfth grades of the expanded secondary school, students at colleges and technical schools, or serve as conscripts.

As a part of this group defined by age and social status, the young undergo a process of socialization. This has certain points of intersection characterized by fundamental changes in their living conditions. The first intersection is the start of occupational training. This is vividly documented in a study by the Central Institute for Youth Studies in Leipzig, based on a poll of 1,000 12-year olds conducted during a 10-year period, in the course of which 8 they were asked about various aspects of their mental and social development. According to the institute, about 80 percent of youths begin their professional education at age 16, around 10 percent enter an apprenticeship at 14; about the same percentage begins professional training at 18, following graduation from the twelfth grade. The beginning of professional training is postponed for male youths who must serve as conscripts for 18 months from age 18.

The changes arising for the young at this first point of intersection are characterized by leaving school and the corresponding social and political surroundings, beginning their integration in the social labor process, building new social relations in the apprenticeship, professional training or college studies, to some extent integration in youth specific forms of training and cooperation (youth collectives, youth innovator movement, youth brigades), a certain material independence, possibly a change in residence or location, separation from the family.

A second point of intersection is the end of professional training and the beginning of regular work. As a rule this happens for skilled workers at the conclusion of a 2-year apprenticeship at age 19; technical school graduates enter professional life at about 20. Eighth grade school leavers enter working life proper at age 16, depending on the period of training. Those who study at colleges, enter professional life at about 22. (All these are obviously averages.) Entry in a regular job decides more than the status of the young adult in the

system of social labor; the changed social and material situation also affects the planning for the future (residence, relations with partners, further education), the organization of leisure, sociopolitical commitment, and so on. The Leipzig study is very illuminating in documenting the reorientation of the young, reflected in the development of the participation and relative involvement in the study by the age groups of the persons polled.⁹

The report shows that the young cannot be considered a homogenous group. To be added to the social factors mentioned are sex specific and regional (urban/rural) differences. With respect to the significance and organization of leisure, these differences (as documented in recent studies) are rather important and, insofar as the appropriate material is available, will be taken into account in the following report.

3. The Significance of Leisure Time in Youth Policy

3.1 Youth Policy and Leisure

Youth policy is a central element in the political and social functional context of GDR society. Its aim is the integration of youth in the social system, to familiarize the young with sociopolitical objectives and prepare them for their tasks in society, state and politics. Insofar youth policy is an element of a more comprehensive social policy. It is consonant with the centralist organizational principle in the state apparatus as well as the SED for youth policy to be organized and directed centrally by the state. As pointed out in the 1974 "GDR Youth Law,"¹⁰ this is done by:

- Central state direction. Responsible for youth policy is the GDR Council of Ministers and its Office for Youth Affairs to which the Central Institute for Youth Studies in Leipzig is also subordinated. At local and regional level, the people's representations or state and economy managements are responsible for the conduct of youth policy--in coordination with the competent FDJ leadership organizations, so that there is a graduated system of meshing state and youth political decisions;
- Rooting youth policy in overall SED policy, which defines youth policy as a "firm element" of its policy and affects youth policy decisions;
- The assignment of wide ranging rights and duties to the youth federation, the FDJ, which thereby holds the key functions for the conduct of youth policy.

This networking of youth political decisionmaking and authoritative bodies is designed to guarantee the social and political integration of the young. As the GDR's history shows, the realization of youth policy also requires some flexibility, and lately this has been most evident at the local level.¹¹

Substantially the main objective of youth policy is that of educating the young people growing up to become "socialist personalities."¹² This includes imparting to them extensive knowledge and skills as well as providing explicit politico-ideological education to make them "socialist citizens."

Supplementing socialization in the family, at school, professional training and on the job, leisure is to contribute to the young people's development as

"socialist personalities." Youth policy therefore actively and resolutely intervenes in the organization of leisure for youth. Leisure, culture and sport have their own sections in the "GDR Youth Law." These sections state the competences of the various state and enterprise facilities and settle their duties and obligations.¹³ It is quite evident in the text that the youth politicians were not concerned only with issues affecting material resources or institutional framework conditions but, over and above this, developed substantial notions about the function of leisure in the education of the young. As part of the socialist lifestyle, leisure is primarily to be used "meaningfully" and become a reflection of this lifestyle. Training for the meaningful use of leisure is therefore meant to start very early.

In contrast to scholastic and professional education or the work on the job, the political influence exerted in the leisure area is far more indirect, the individual scope of the young greater. Social challenges or expectations and juvenile needs need to be coordinated more delicately. Alongside the growing demands of the young with regard to their leisure, we note a change in latter-day youth and cultural policy. Well into the 1970's, for example, it was not considered particularly exemplary to use leisure merely as a time for taking it easy and relaxing--exemplary was collectively spent leisure time within the framework of the official leisure pursuits offered by the FDJ--; relaxation and activism are no longer regarded as opposite but rather as complementing aspects of personality development proceeding in leisure time. Based on recent studies, youth researchers and cultural theoreticians repeatedly pointed out that the needs of the young are many and varied, and that youth policy may not disregard this fact.¹⁴ It is to be assumed that the emergence of a youth alternative scene, the commitment of young people to peace and ecology groups, their need for greater independence, have resulted in greater sensitivity.

3.2 On the FDJ's role in Leisure Time

In the course of its history, the FDJ has assigned different importance to the leisure of young people.¹⁵ Of course, politico-ideological training always enjoyed priority, consonant with the nature of the FDJ as the political youth federation. At the same time leisure has always been considered a connecting link for mass work with youth. Indeed, the importance of this aspect was re-emphasized at the last FDJ cultural conference in Leipzig.¹⁶

The FDJ's influence on the organization of leisure has many aspects; it ranges from the song movement, media organization (youth magazines, radio transmissions, and so on) to tourism. The "GDR Youth Law" assigns far ranging powers to the FDJ with regard to leisure also; the meshing of leisure and politics, typical for the GDR, is particularly evident here.

The FDJ has a dual function in the organization of leisure. On the one hand it handles the forms and substance of socialist cultural policy and aims to guide youth toward "the meaningful use of leisure." On the other it endeavors to represent the interests of the young in the local people's representations and social organizations, and to organize events appropriate and attractive to the young. In recent years, these functions have characterized the FDJ's operations in the leisure sector; any one-sided emphasis on its "control function"¹⁷

indicates a foreshortened outlook. As the example of the youth clubs demonstrates, the FDJ cannot merely act as a controller; it is dependent on the cooperation of youth and presents itself under various aspects so as to satisfy the needs of young people for leisure opportunities in the narrower meaning, for recreation, culture, music, and so on.

Admittedly, it is not easy to test the answer to the question how successfully the FDJ manages to actually carry out its politico-educational functions and assignments in the leisure sector. As I will demonstrate later in greater detail, the FDJ offerings do not fully meet the leisure needs of the young; leisure time behavior is subject to dynamics that the FDJ is not really able to match. In addition, the leisure needs of the young extend to a broader field of action, in part realized by the individual and usually organized spontaneously.

3.3 Youth Clubs

The change noticeable in recent years with regard to leisure policy and involving--at least at local level--more attention to the young people's own activities, can be appraised by studying the discussion on the role and function of the youth clubs.¹⁸ Youth clubs are normally established by basic organizations, FDJ, local, kreis or city district management organizations. They cooperate closely with the respective local councils, enterprise managements, cooperative executive boards, educational facilities or social organizations. They have either a full-time or part-time manager, assisted by a part-time FDJ club council or activist group. In 1982, for example, 12 youth clubs were registered in Berlin-Friedrichshain, 5 in enterprises, 5 state operated--and these ten had full-time managers--; 2 were run by part-timers in residential districts.¹⁹ The total of youth clubs in the GDR at end 1979/early 1980 was quoted as 5,700 (1970/1971: 1,300; 1975/1976: 4,000). The youth clubs have around 750,000 members, staff and visitors.²⁰ Depending on the equipment with premises and facilities, the youth clubs offer opportunities for dancing, listening to music; they organize study groups emphasizing artistic or natural science pursuits, lectures and discussions.

The conception of the youth clubs shows that an attempt is being made to link state directed leisure policy with youthful leisure interests "at the level of the rank and file." The work of the youth clubs is to be flexible and oriented to the rank and file so as to take account of the young people's growing interest in their leisure time. A working meeting organized by the Central Institute for Youth Studies in Leipzig on leisure time and youth club work noted that the offerings and working methods of the youth clubs were not universally satisfactory and required more encouragement.²¹ The results of the studies submitted were to help draft key points for the future work of the youth clubs. According to them, deficits in the leisure time offerings are found especially in rural regions and new residential districts. In addition to the exploitation of reserves in educational facilities and enterprises, the work in residential areas (in other words at local level) is to receive special emphasis in future. For this expansion of the offerings of the youth clubs, the young people's own initiative and active cooperation are not only desirable, they are considered an indispensable element of youth appropriate leisure organization.

4. Leisure and the Study of Leisure

In the GDR leisure is generally defined as "that period of time in the organization of the lives of working people in socialism, that is not occupied by the legally fixed period of time for work, education, studies, apprenticeship, and so on, as well as the time spent in immediate connection with the preceding pursuits, and is used by them according to their own choice, collectively or individually, to satisfy various needs and interests, for the organization of social relationships, the fulfillment of social demands, and so on."²² Leisure is thus defined as outside work and other necessary activities such as education and similar pursuits. However, according to the basic Marxist-Leninist interpretation, work and leisure are not considered two separate and conflicting areas of life; they are instead to be interpreted as mutually complementary kinds of human activity.

Leisure as well as work is primarily viewed as a social function. In general leisure is to serve the reproduction of working strength and the development of the socialist personality: "In socialism leisure is that period of time available to the people to reproduce their working strength and the all-round development of their personalities. At the same time the socialist society provides the basic ideological orientations for this reproduction process and also creates the appropriate material, organizational and other prerequisites."²³

Two different approaches to the analysis of leisure may be observed in its discussion. With the aid of time budget studies, relying on classifications of political economics on the one hand and on empirical social studies on the other, the dimension and changes in the various activities of population groups are ascertained and a quantitative determination of leisure carried out. These investigations, relevant to socialist planning as a whole, are supplemented in youth studies and cultural sociology by the qualitative, reproduction-theoretical approach, asking about the extent and function of leisure for the physical and mental reproduction of individuals and the evolution of the socialist personality.

Time budget studies have been carried out in the GDR since the 1960's. The "Bruno Leuschner" College for Economics is still the center of these studies.²⁴ Data on the structure and substance of the use of time by specific groups of people are ascertained with the aid of time budget analyses. Using the records, either the course of an average 24-hour day, a week or the so-called annual time budget is studied. However, the evidential value of time budget analyses is satisfactory only when other statistical and empirical results are consulted also. Still, it is possible to ascertain time proportions, trends and differences between groups. Conclusions for the analysis of lifestyles and the "sociology of everyday living" are arrived at from the collected data. In a recent publication, for example, Gerhard Lippold and Guenter Manz propose the notion that the statistics on the use of time based on time budget studies, represent a "prime tool for the analysis of the socialist lifestyle." Lippold and Manz define lifestyle as a complex social context, considered the reflection of people's entire life processes. The political relevance of this time budget discussion consists in the assumption that it makes it possible to assess social development trends, especially the development of freely disposable time in society.

In accordance with the definition declared mandatory in 1975 by the GDR Central State Administration for Statistics, the time budget is subdivided into two "main activity groups": "Working time" and "workfree time." "Workfree time" is in turn subdivided into five "chief activity groups" (see illustration 1), only one of which is described as "leisure time."

GDR youth studies quite often use time budget analyses. The Central Institute for Youth Studies in Leipzig carried out several time budget investigations with young people since 1967, publishing partial results.²⁶ A later and more comprehensive investigation was based on the following breakdown of the time budget of young people.

The ascertained average leisure time of the young varied between 4.5-6 hours per day. Considerable differences were noted, depending on the social status, age and sex of the young. Students in the ninth and tenth grades had most free time, young workers--in particular women--the least.²⁷

While time budgets primarily provide information about the quantity of leisure time, the reproduction theoretical approach to the analysis of leisure is suitable for ascertaining and function and substantial organization of leisure time. From the reproduction aspect the following rank as functions of leisure:

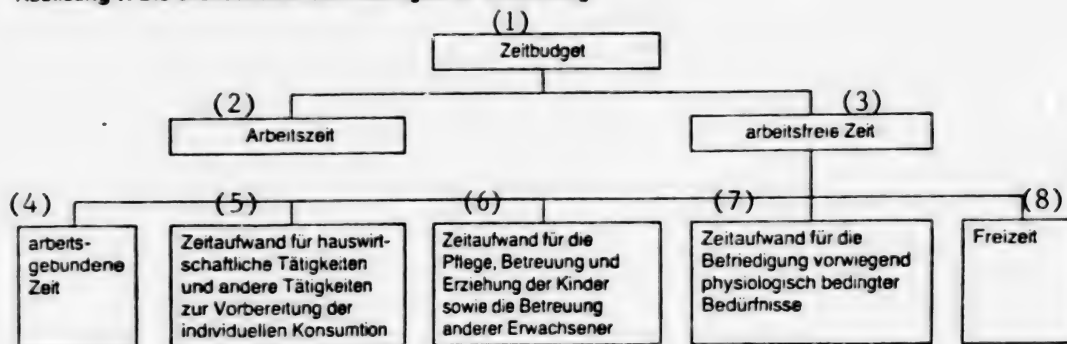
- The reproduction of strength (recreation and relaxation),
- The reproduction and expanded reproduction of capacities (education),
- Involvement in the management or control of public affairs (sociopolitical activity),
- Participation in social work (voluntary, socially useful activity of productive value),
- Sociability (entertainment, communication).

Cultural sociologist Helmut Hanke distinguishes between a quantitative definition of leisure, embracing all the time outside legally regulated work, and a qualitative definition, referring only to "freely disposable time," time available for free individual use and so perceived by the individual.²⁸ From the standpoint of cultural sociology it is important for leisure to serve the development of the personality and the emergence of a cultural lifestyle. According to Hanke, "freely disposable time" includes physical recreation, intellectual pursuits, political activities, sociability and enjoyment.

On the basis of the wide definition of qualitative leisure, used also in youth studies and including recreation, sociability, sporting and cultural activities as well as sociopolitical pursuits--provided they are followed in workfree time--it is possible to discuss changes in the structure of leisure pursuits and the meshing of leisure and politics.

Illustration 1--The Basic Structure of the Population's Time Budget

Abbildung 1: Die Grundstruktur des Zeitbudgets der Bevölkerung



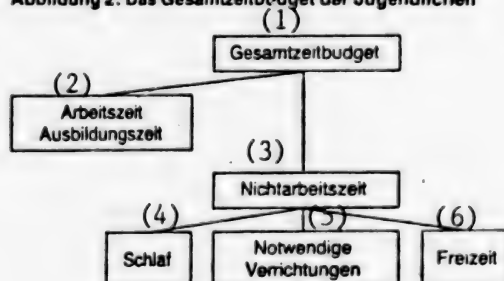
Key:

1. Time budget
2. Working time
3. Workfree time
4. Job related time
5. Time spent on domestic and other activities for the preparation of individual consumption
6. Time spent on the care and education of children and care for other adults
7. Time spent on the satisfaction of primary physiological needs
8. Leisure time

From: G. Lippold/G. Manz, "On the Use of Time Classifications for the Description of the Lifestyle," "Jahrbuch fuer Soziologie und Sozialpolitik 198 [1980 Annual of Sociology and Sociopolitics], p 138.

Illustration 2--The Total Time Budget of Youth

Abbildung 2: Das Gesamtzeitbudget der Jugendlichen



Key:

1. Total time budget
2. Working time, study time
3. Workfree time
4. Sleep
5. Necessary tasks
6. Leisure time

From: "Die Freizeit der Jugend" [Youth Leisure Time], East Berlin 1981, p 81.

5. On the Leisure Time Behavior of GDR Youth

In general we may note that the leisure time behavior and leisure needs of GDR youth are subject to considerable changes, the leisure sector as a whole to major dynamics. New technical media, improved housing conditions and greater availability of leisure are resulting in changed leisure time behavior and confront politicians and youth researchers with new problems. Culture and youth politicians need to constantly adapt to the changing needs of the young.

Young people relate quite specific needs and expectations to the organization of their leisure time. As studies have shown, these needs are not only determined by age; they are also much affected by the sociopolitical framework conditions. The study by the Central Institute for Youth Studies mentioned earlier is particularly illuminating in this context. In the course of this study, the young people were asked, *inter alia*, about the objectives of their leisure pursuits. One of the researchers sums this up as follows: "Their attitude of striving is much influenced by the wish for prosperity and comfort in the home and also for physical culture and fashionable dress, in a certain way by a longing for an easy and eventful life, coupled with exciting activities, sexuality and a material status allowing for the purchase of expensive consumer goods (such as cars)."²⁹ This is obviously one of the consequences of the consumer oriented policies dating back to the Eighth SED Congress. A certain "orientation to prosperity"--which, as the author notes, is "by no means alien to socialism"--cannot, therefore, be dismissed in regard to the needs and interests of youth in the leisure area.

At the same time the development of leisure behavior also displays some contradictions. Youth researchers note an "amazing capacity for persistence"³⁰ in leisure time behavior. Other than in their working lives, for example, traditions, customs, habits and "other phenomena of the national psyche"³¹ strongly affect leisure pursuits. These traditional attitudes are particularly obvious when we compare the leisure time behavior of young males and females (see section 5.4).

Based on time budget analyses, more recent and representative studies by the Central Institute for Youth Studies in Leipzig arrived at the following structure of the leisure time of youth:

Table 1--Structure of the Leisure Time of Senior School Students, Apprentices and Young Workers

Activity	Time Spent in Terms of Hours per Week		
	School Seniors	Apprentices	Working Youth
Television	8.9	7.6	6.3
Visiting with friends, fellow workers, relatives	6.5	5.1	5.6
Listening to radio and music	3.7	3.5	1.8
Active sports	3.0	2.2	1.0
Walking	2.4	0.9	2.1
Attending discotheques and/or other dances	2.2	3.2	1.9
Cultural-artistic and/or natural science pursuits	2.0	3.7	2.0

[continued on following page]

Activity	Time Spent in Terms of Hours per Week		
	School Seniors	Apprentices	Working Youth
Cycling, moped, motor cycle riding or driving/riding cars	1.3	1.4	0.8
Passive resting, relaxing	1.1	0.8	0.3
Card, board and party game playing	0.5	0.9	0.8
Going to restaurants/bars	0.5	0.8	2.9
Attending sports events as spectators	0.4	0.5	0.2
Moviegoing	0.3	0.5	0.2
Attending other events or exhibitions	0.4	0.5	0.2
Miscellaneous pursuits	3.5	4.9	4.6

From: "Youth Leisure Time," East Berlin 1981, p 88.

It was also noted that activities during leisure time depend on several social factors.³² In addition to the social environment of young people at school or on the job, their sex, respective ages, educational standards, family situation and residential location (city-country, immediate environment) were of decisive importance.

The leisure time behavior of school students has been studied quite frequently. Far fewer data are available with regard to working youth or farm youth. It is nevertheless possible on the basis of more recent studies to show that the leisure profiles arising with regard to educational aspects (school, apprenticeship, higher education) differ far more than those originating in the specific features of the residential environment (city, country, small town). The social status of the young thus much more affects leisure time behavior than does the residential situation.³³

5.1 Media Behavior

Conspicuous in Table 1 on the leisure time pursuits of youth is the dominating status of television. When we add listening to radio and music, moviegoing and reading, the use of the media accounts for the largest part of leisure time pursuits. According to GDR media specialist Lothar Bisky, 40 percent of the total freely disposable time of youth are taken up by media utilization.³⁴ Moreover, shifts in the various leisure time pursuits have arisen in the course of the past 10-15 years. Due to the higher standard of living achieved in recent years, more and more families own radios and television sets, stereos, cassette recorders, and so on. However, the theater, movies and reading are not affected by these dynamics. On the contrary, various studies show that the new media of entertainment electronics and television have tended to displace more traditional leisure pursuits. Though 40 percent of young people are classified as attending the theater (at least once per annum), and studies claim that the frequency of theater attendance has not essentially changed from 1973 to 1979,

no increase in theater going by the young was noted either, despite more available free time.³⁵ The cinema suffered the biggest displacement. Though, according to the latest reports, juveniles account for 70 percent of moviegoers, the total is on the decline, and people tend to go to the movies less often. Bisky explains that movies shown on television do more to affect the expectations and appreciation habits of youth than do movies seen in the cinema. Reading appears to be less affected, although changed reading habits were noted as well as age and stratum specific differences. Daily newspaper reading is described as relatively steady. After consulting the above mentioned study by the Central Institute for Youth Studies, Bisky concludes that television has not adversely affected newspaper reading.³⁶

In contrast to the culture-critical discussion carried on in the Western industrial countries, including the FRG, on the role of television in leisure, criticism in the GDR is rather restrained. People there balance the positively appraised cultural, educational and ideological functions of media consumption against the sometimes negatively judged change in cultural appreciation. Youth researchers reprove the "superficial learning" frequently accompanying television viewing by young people and claim that it results in "demonstrated difficulties in appreciation" by young people of artistically challenging movies and art.³⁷ Lately the question of the effects of the new audiovisual media on the appreciation of the "traditional" arts--theater, concerts, cinema, and so on--has been raised in the GDR, too, and culture sociologists are demanding studies on the long-term cultural consequences.³⁸

The decline in the interest in movies, theater and other traditional types of leisure pursuits is not, however, due entirely to the spread of television and the development of new media of entertainment electronics. It is also the result of the expansion of leisure generally and the subsequent differentiation of needs, for example by the greater availability of discotheques and the increase in travel and tourism.

5.2 Leisure Time Groups

Typical for the GDR's youth and cultural policy is the encouragement of socially organized groups for leisure pursuits. They best correspond to the conception of a socialist organization of leisure that aims as much as possible to involve collectives.

Leisure time groups are organized with specific pedagogic and sociopolitical objectives, and they receive expert as well as material and political backing. They are parts of some superordinated social organization, such as the school, the FDJ or the German Cultural League. Included in these organized groups are the various study and interest groups at the schools, sports and travel groups, facilities of the German Cultural League and the circles and groups of the FDJ, especially within the scope of the youth clubs. Precise data are hard to come by regarding the numbers of young people who use the organized offerings and on the share of activities in organized leisure time groups in the total leisure time budget of the young. We can, however, note certain trends and "problem areas." According to research assistants at the Central Institute for Youth Studies, almost all young people are "involved" in the activities of politically organized leisure time groups; furthermore, almost every second youth is a member of other organized leisure time groups.

The most common involvement is in cultural, artistic and sporting pursuits. Using an empirical study by the Academy of Pedagogic Sciences, education sociologists observed, for example, that just about 25 percent of ninth grade students in a typical medium-sized GDR city attended artistic study groups at the school, 9 percent technical or agrotechnical groups, 10 percent natural science groups and 8 percent sociological study groups. Forty-two percent of the students, especially the boys, were involved in organized sports, either in³⁹ school sports groups or the DTSB [German Gymnastics and Sports Federation].

Concerning the FDJ, it is noted that many students do indeed make use of the various offerings--from discotheques to vacation camps and performance comparisons--but that "considerable efforts" are still needed to reach all of them. "Involvement in the FDJ and other social organizations" ranks eighth in preferred leisure time activities (listening to the radio is No 1, engineering and model construction No 15).⁴⁰ When we also consult the answers to the question who provided the students with suggestions for leisure time pursuits, the influence of the FDJ and other social organizations appears definitely minor. Most advice stems from parents, friends and the mass media, the Pioneer or FDJ group is in last (11th) place among those who regularly influence students.⁴¹ Considering that the influence of social organizations, especially the FDJ, is generally greater among school students than among apprentices and young workers, the importance of organized leisure time groups for the latter is likely to be even less.

Other sociologists have lately complained of the work and attraction of organized leisure time groups. Wiedemann, for example, reports that the results of investigations signal a decline in youth artistic activities pursued in an organized manner. The leisure needs of the young are often not met by fixed times and, frequently, also the subject matter and sometimes overemphasis on excellence--especially where the goal is a public presentation (for instance the song and talent movement). The scope for organization is often restricted,⁴² and the consequence is a decline in the interest of the young people.

Against this background it is not surprising that young people spend a great deal of their freely disposable time in spontaneous and so-called unorganized leisure time groups. Evidently the importance of these looser groups of friends has tended to rise. Many leisure activities are pursued together with contemporaries or friends from the immediate environment.

The offerings of the churches have a special status. Though they involve organized groups, they are not part of the official youth and culture political offering and, in a certain manner, represent a "free space" for the young. As reports tell us, more young people than in the 1960's and early 1970's now find themselves in the peace and environmental groups, at Blues festivals, and so on.⁴³ This development also must be considered in connection with the search of the young for their own kinds of leisure time organization.

In the meantime the looser leisure time groups have become the topic of various empirical studies. Reconsidered at the same time was the past mistrust of these groups. In their investigations, research assistants at the Central Institute for Youth Studies dealt with the significance of the spontaneous and

loose leisure time groups for youth and culture policy as well as for the young people themselves. They reject the notion that these groups are within the gray zone of society, close to asociality or even criminality--notions that, incidentally, are recognized as refuted by more recent criminological studies on the leisure time behavior of young offenders⁴⁴--and describe the unorganized groups as complementing the officially organized offering and a "completely normal phenomenon."⁴⁵ Studies have shown that almost half all youth belong to one unorganized leisure time group, some of them even to several groups at the same time. The 16-18 year olds are particularly often found in unorganized groups, boys more so than girls, school students, apprentices and college students more often than working youths.⁴⁶ The following table provides a survey of the organization of leisure in unorganized groups as ascertained by the Leipzig youth researchers.

Table 2--Activities in Unorganized Leisure Time Groups. Proportion of Youths Stating They Frequently Pursue Such Activities in Their Leisure Time Groups (percentage)

Type of Pursuit	School Students	Apprentices	Young Workers
Listening to records, tapes, collecting and exchanging them	70	62	53
Active sports	49	49	42
Disco attendance	47	51	41
Moviegoing	44	40	25
Attending dances (other than disco)	32	51	56
Just "hanging around"	25	14	14
Celebrating special occasions	24	37	42
Discussions of political issues	18	18	24

From: "Youth Leisure Time," East Berlin 1981, p 246.

It is a conspicuous fact that mainly such interests are involved in the unorganized groups as display definitely "youth specific" traits, such as listening to music and dancing. This is where the interests of the young differ most from those of their parents and other adults. Evidently the needs of the young in specific areas are most easily satisfied within the loose group of friends. In addition there has been a shift in leisure time pursuits as the result of the improvement of housing conditions, the expansion of the offerings by the electronic entertainment media, and so on. Young people display the same trend to the individual organization of leisure, located mostly in the home, that has been repeatedly noted in recent years among the GDR population and the peoples of other socialist countries. As sociologists note somewhat critically, individual and unorganized leisure pursuits are preferred especially wherever the amount of leisure time is considered too small, regional circumstances offer inadequate or poorly accessible opportunities, or where cooperation in public organization is felt to be a chore rather than recreation.⁴⁷

The trend to the individual organization of leisure evidently reflects changed leisure needs. Young people wish to expand the scope and range of their leisure time pursuits and develop new types enabling them to pursue their interests. Admittedly, this trend also has less desirable features because, to the extent that the young expand the unorganized types of leisure time organization, they lessen the pressure on youth and culture politicians to adjust the existing resources and facilities to their interests. Moreover, it is a well known fact that sex stereotypical behavior and interest structures tend to be reproduced in unorganized groups, and the abolition of such structures thereby tends to become more difficult.

When we look at the role of the unorganized leisure time groups of youths, we have reason to doubt the official GDR claim that collective and organized forms of the organization of leisure will in future be the "dominant type" of social relations. Much more likely is a greater differentiation and intermingling of the two types.

5.3 "Social Activism"

The publications on the leisure time behavior of youths persistently stress that "social activism," in other words voluntary and unpaid work in people's representations, social organizations and other political contexts, has become a firm element of the socialist lifestyle in people's free time and an example of the "meaningful use of leisure." The classification of these activities with the leisure sector arises from the broadly interpreted concept of leisure that reflects the desired commingling of freely disposable time and a political lifestyle.

However, the available descriptions of the social activities of young people outside the school, training or job lead to the conclusion that the high value placed on social activism does not have much actual significance in the leisure pursuits of young people. The time budget analyses of the Central Institute for Youth Studies reveal that young people use only 1-2 hours weekly (4-5 percent) of the leisure at their disposal on social activist pursuits.⁴⁸

Though it is emphasized that young people are "largely" involved in all types of the exercise of political power, and most youths are members of at least three social organizations, this does not necessarily mean that all those young people are in fact active there and use part of their freely disposable time for social activism. It appears more likely that a specific "activist type" emerges at an early or middle school age, who is consistently active politically, while the other young people tend to be either indifferent or hostile to involvement and attribute little importance to social activism. The study by the Central Institute for Youth Studies, for example, shows that "79 percent of 21-year old youths with a strongly defined socialist civic consciousness (had) the same attitude 9 years earlier, when they were only 12."⁴⁹

Social background and educational standard influence social activism. Committed young people also distinguish themselves in their leisure pursuits, they "read more books (literature, textbooks, sociological writings), often opt for further education, more frequently attend social events and, conversely, do not

belong to so many leisure time groups, more rarely visit restaurants/bars, smoke less and are more interested in participatory than spectator sports; they are more committed to their jobs, more often read the socialist daily and youth press, and so on. In the matter of partners, they prefer boys with similar inclinations and girls with socially valuable qualities."⁵⁰

The emergence of an "activist type" among the young may be considered a success of the educational process oriented to instilling socialist consciousness and behavior. Social and political activism is not caused by "key events" or "breaks" but by the acceptance of offered socialization examples and substance. On the other hand, its continuity leads us to conclude that many of the young do not translate the process of political consciousness formation into activist behavior. Insofar these young people devote any of their leisure to social activism, they are likely to do this as a matter of duty rather than as the result of their own and politically sustained motivation.

In some regards the young people also develop critical and distancing attitudes, as demonstrated by the efforts of environmental or peace groups in recent times.⁵¹ These essentially heterogenous groups--often overestimated in the West and, in the GDR, likely with undue haste to be criticized or suspected of criminal associations--show that other socialization processes are possible among the young.

For the majority of the young in the GDR any dovetailing of leisure and politics is virtually out of the question. At the same time this does not apply to just this social group alone. Investigations of leisure, relating to the population as a whole, reveal a similar situation. Statements by sociologists who complain that social activism is quite restricted in the non-working sector,⁵² provide indications to the same effect. Evidently any workfree time is primarily reserved for "genuine" leisure pursuits.

5.4 Sex Specific Differences

Various studies confirm that the leisure time behavior of young people in the GDR is characterized by significant sex specific differences. This applies first of all to the actual leisure time. Time budget studies by the Central Institute for Youth Studies have come up with the following values:

Table 3--Average Daily Free Time of Young Males and Females

Group	Amount of Free Time in Hours	
	Males	Females
Students at school	6.0	5.2
Apprentices	6.2	4.7
Young workers	4.8	3.9

From: "Youth Leisure Time," East Berlin 1981, p 84.

Young females need to spend more time on "necessary tasks," in other words more housework, shopping, and so on, at the expense of their leisure time budget --a factor worsening after marriage and, in particular, once children are born.

The differences in the amount of leisure time correspond to the varying interests of young males and females. Male youths spend their free time mainly in sports, cycling, moped and motor cycle riding, tinkering with their cars, natural science-technical pursuits, visits to discotheques and other dance events, listening to radio and music, reading or social activities. Young females devote more of their time to "cultural-artistic pursuits," they sing, engage in handicrafts and paint, tend to go for walks and meet with friends. As a consequence of their fewer leisure hours, young females are less intensively engaged in the various leisure pursuits and often carry on none at all. This is demonstrated by the sex specific attendance structure of school study groups, for example, or the use of leisure facilities such as sports. As Gisela Ulrich of the Central Institute for Youth Studies notes, boys are far more involved in "genuine" leisure pursuits, while girls tend to go for "traditionally female" activities.⁵³

Youth researchers attribute the sex specific differences mainly to the different demands the persons in charge, especially the parents, make on the adolescents. In fact investigations confirm that considerable sex stereotypical attitudes and behavior persist in the education and socialization of the young in the GDR.⁵⁴ However, opinions on that topic vary a great deal. Culture theoretician Hanke, for example, notes that "we in the GDR include in our ideal of the full equality of women the natural division of labor between men and women and (should not) have as our objective the complete standardization of the use of time by both sexes,"⁵⁵ the authors of the study "Youth Leisure Time" complain that this "natural division of labor" results in considerable differences of the extent of leisure and works to the detriment of young females who find their opportunities for the development of their personalities restricted.⁵⁶

The consequences drawn from the results of the investigation are rather half-hearted. Though educators emphasize that "we (should) consciously strive to abolish obsolete sex specific behavioral models," they go on to say "this does not exclude a certain differentiation between boys and girls, corresponding to the subsequent division of labor in society and the family."⁵⁷ By assuming this attitude, they tend to favor the persistence rather than the abolition of sex specific leisure time behavior. In view of the empirically noted differences both in the amount of leisure and the active organization of it, this presents a special problem, because it is difficult anyway to influence the sector of freely disposable time and, obviously, traditional attitudes, customs and habits change only very slowly.

This brings us to a certain contradiction in GDR women's policy: While efforts are being made to abolish traditional roles with regard to women's employment, their persistence in the non-working area is obviously tolerated and sometimes even encouraged by speaking of the traditional, "natural" division of labor. Still, the blocking of sex specific differences and needs in the leisure area might well backfire and adversely affect the professional aspect or

cause conflicts to arise between the two and their role models. With a view to the realization of equality, therefore, sex specific differences in the leisure area tend to be dysfunctional. For the reproduction of working strength, however, which--in the non-working area happens especially within the family--they may be quite functional and thus contribute to the stability of the existing power structure.

6. Concluding Remarks

The materials used here allow the conclusion that the area "time at the free disposal of youth" is subject to considerable changes. Socialization in the leisure time sector, encouraged by youth and culture policy, is confronted by a trend to individually determined, unorganized leisure time pursuits. This development must be considered against the background of the "unity of economic and social policy" proclaimed at the Eighth SED Congress. While this made possible on the one hand the encouragement and expansion of socially organized and official leisure offerings, standards of living rose at the same time and resulted in new leisure needs. These complex social processes are bringing about considerable contradictions and place youth and leisure time policy before new problems. The incorporation of juvenile leisure needs in the existing organizational and substantial offerings does not proceed without friction; interventions in the leisure sector are difficult and often run counter to leisure time needs. On the one hand youth and culture politicians take into account the preference for individual and self-organizational pursuits by recognizing the validity of unorganized types; on the other hand socially organized types are being expanded and adapted to juvenile needs.

The dynamics of leisure needs are sometimes confronted by a reactivation or consolidation of sociostructural and sex specific attitudes and interests, and their abolition is encouraged to a very limited extent only. The "power of inertia" of traditional (and sometimes even modern) attitudes in the leisure sector does not, however, appear to be unconditionally dysfunctional with regard to the existing power and social structures. In any case, unduly profound intervention would conflict with the interest in the smooth flowing and controlled socialization of the young.

In general we may note a greater sensitivity to leisure time political problems, due to the fact that the importance of leisure in GDR society has increased, and that young people are developing new and independent types of leisure pursuits.

FOOTNOTES

1. Walter Friedrich/Harry Mueller, "Zur Psychologie der 12- bis 22jaehrigen. Resultate Einer Intervall Studie" [On the Psychology of 12-22-year Olds. The Results of a Continuing Study], East Berlin 1980.
2. "As in the preceding period, the relationship individual/society is at the center of the subject matter...This more recent literature presents the "beset individual" and its "damaged life" (H. Mohr) not only in an accusatory manner but very precisely researches the causes of its emergence and reproduction, making them obvious in literary terms. This is shown most clearly by the breadth and exactitude of recent prose, in particular when dealing with the situation of children and adolescents in GDR society." Wolfgang Emmerich, "Kleine Literaturgeschichte der DDR" [Short Literary History of the GDR], Darmstadt and Neuwied 1981, pp 197 f.

3. See, for example, Juergen Micksch, "Jugend und Freizeit in der DDR" [Youth and Leisure Time in the GDR], (Contributions to Sociological Research 8), Opladen 1972.
4. The background to the controversy in the FDJ newspaper FORUM (on the ratio of working time to free time (cue word "What Is Social Progress?") was not only different ideological standpoints but the fact that the importance of the free time has obviously risen in the GDR and assumed political dimensions ("radical need," Agnes Heller). This was most pointedly stated by Juergen Kuczynski. See FORUM 1978, Nos 8, 11, 13, 15, 22.
5. This trend is critically commented by GDR sociology, too. See the theses by a collective of authors (headed by Joachim Rittershaus): "Social Activism and Socialist Lifestyle (Theses)," "Jahrbuch fuer Soziologie und Sozialpolitik 1981" [1981 Yearbook of Sociology and Social Policy], pp 19-33.
6. See, for example, the following statement: "Indisputable are certain differences between the older and younger generation. Each proceeds with its own development, has its own historic experiences, conditions and political experiences, defining its development, and also has its own approach to perception. Factors which certainly affect specific decisions in each generation. There is no doubt whatever that there are specific features of the young generation, which involve a great deal more than different views of fashion, hairstyles, cultural interests or types of behavior...Bureaucratic attitudes, inertness in decisionmaking, stereotypes, the whitewashing of inadequacies at work are felt very keenly by young people." Klaus Boettcher, "Revolutionary Unity of the Generations--Achievement and Claim of Real Socialism," EINHEIT 5/1982, pp 510 f.
7. "Statistisches Jahrbuch der DDR 1982" [1982 GDR Statistical Yearbook], pp 345 and 1.
8. Friedrich/Mueller, "On the Psychology...", as before.
9. Ibid, pp 32 ff.
10. GDR Youth Law of 28 January 1974, GB1 Part I No 5 pp 45 ff.
11. See Section 3.3
12. On the theory of the personality see Christiane Lemke, "Persoenlichkeit und Gesellschaft. Zur Theorie der Persoenlichkeit in der DDR" [Personality and Society. On the Theory of the Personality in the GDR], Opladen 1980.
13. See Youth Law of the GDR, as before, Sections V ("The Evolution of a Cultured Life of Youths"), VI ("The Development of Physical Culture and Sports Among Youths"), VIII ("The Organization of Vacations and Tourism for Youth").
14. See Lothar Bisky/Dieter Wiedemann, "Intellectual Cultural Demands and Pursuits of Youth," EINHEIT 10/1982, pp 104-108; "Die Freizeit der Jugend" [Youth Leisure Time], published by a collective of authors directed by Peter Voss, East Berlin 1981.

15. See Ulrich Teichler, "Free German Youth, with Special Consideration for the Phase of the New Economic System of the Planning and Management of the National Economy and the Tension between Parental and Mass Education," unpublished diploma thesis, Berlin Free University 1967, in particular chapter 7, pp 75 ff. On the general description of the FDJ see Arnold Freiburg/Christa Mahrad, "FDJ. Der Sozialistische Jugendverband in der DDR" [FDJ. The Socialist Youth Federation in the GDR], Opladen 1982.
16. "FDJ Culture Conference on 21-22 October 1982 in Leipzig," FORUM 21/1982, supplement.
17. Freiburg and Mahrad deal very briefly with the FDJ's role in leisure time and emphasize the "control function." See Freiburg/Mahrad, "FDJ. ...," as before, pp 224-238.
18. Wolfgang Geier/Uta Bruhm-Schlegel (editors), "Beitraege der FDJ-Jugendklubs zur Herausbildung Sozialistischer Lebensweise in der Freizeitgestaltung der Jugend in der DDR" [The FDJ Youth Clubs' Contribution to the Evolution of the Socialist Lifestyle in the Organization of Youth Leisure Time in the GDR], Leipzig/Dresden 1980; Wolfgang Herger/Harry Morgenstern, "On the SED's Youth Policy After the Tenth Party Congress," NEUER WEG 13/1981, pp 481-486; "Youth Leisure Time," as before, Chapter 7.
19. Eckhard Sommer, "Partaking of the Club Experience. What Happens in the Club Matters to Everyone," JUNGE GENERATION 10/1981, p 17.
20. Wolfgang Geier, "On the Social Significance and Effect of the Youth Clubs in the FDJ," in Geier/Bruhm-Schlegel (editors), "Contributions of the FDJ Youth Clubs..." as before, p 16.
21. See "Common Orientations and Measures for the Further Development of FDJ Youth Clubs. Document of the Activists' Conference of FDJ Youth Clubs at the Central Council of the Free German Youth on 15 March 1980 in Jena," in "FDJ Youth Clubs' Contributions...", as before, pp 55-65.
22. "Kleines Politisches Woerterbuch" [Short Political Dictionary], 3rd revised edition, East Berlin 1978, p 252. On the leisure time discussion in the GDR see also Bettina and Volker Gransow, "Disposable Time and Lifestyle. Leisure Time Research and Leisure Time Behavior in the GDR," DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV 7/1983, pp 729ff.
23. "Youth Leisure Time," as before, p 53.
24. See Peter Christian Lutz, "Sociological Polls in the Service of the SED," DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV 8/1979, pp 858 ff.--The first time budget analyses in socialist countries go back to the Soviet scholar Strumilin who carried on such investigations in the USSR in the 1920's. Since then various studies have been published in the USSR, Poland and the GDR.
25. Gerhard Lippold/Guenter Manz, "On the Use of Time Classifications for the Description of the Lifestyle," "1980 Yearbook of Sociology and Social Policy," pp 123-145. See also Gerhard Lippold (editor), "Das Zeitbudget der Bevoelkerung (Schriftenreihe Planung und Leitung der Volkswirtschaft, H 42)" [The Time Budget of the Population (Series Planning and Management of the National Economy, No 42)], East Berlin 1971.

26. See "Youth Leisure Time," as before, pp 68 ff; Gisela Ulrich, "On the Organization of Leisure Among Apprentices. The Results of a Time Budget Analysis," FORSCHUNG DER SOZIALISTISCHEN BERUFSBILDUNG 6/1979, pp 29f. The Academy of Pedagogic Sciences also uses time budget inquiries. See Artur Meier/Gerhard Wenzke, "Leisure Time of Students in the School and in the Region," "Jahrbuch der Akademie der Paedagogischen Wissenschaften der DDR 1980" [1980 Yearbook of the Academy of Pedagogic Sciences], pp 337f; also Reinhard Kludas, "Opportunities for Extracurricular Pursuits in the Education of Senior School Students to Cultured Leisure Time Behavior," *ibid*, pp 350f.
27. "Youth Leisure Time," as before, pp 80 ff.
28. Helmut Hanke, "Freizeit in der DDR" [Leisure in the GDR], East Berlin 1979, pp 671 ff.
29. Harry Mueller, "On the Development of Life Orientations at a Youthful Age," in Friedrich/Mueller, "On the Psychology...", as before, p 119.
30. "Youth Leisure Time," as before, p 32.
31. *Ibid*, p 32.
32. *Ibid*, pp 71 ff.
33. Sabine Hoffmann, "The Influence of Large and Medium Urban and Rural Living Conditions on the Leisure Time Pursuits of Juveniles," INFORMATIONEN ZUR SOZIOLOGISCHEN FORSCHUNG DER DDR, published by the Academy for Social Sciences at the SED Central Committee, 1/1982, pp 50-55.
34. Lothar Bisky, "On the Extent, Conditions and Consequences of the Use of the Media by the Young," WEIMARER BEITRAEGE 2/1981, p 96.
35. "Youth Leisure Time," as before, p 147.
36. Lothar Bisky, "The Development of the Use of the Media as the Cultural Behavior of the Young," in Friedrich/Mueller, "On the Psychology...", as before, p 156.
37. "Youth Leisure Time," as before, pp 137f; see also Dieter Wiedemann, "Youth and the Arts. Theoretical Reflections and Empirical Facts on the Significance of the Arts in the Lives of GDR Youth," WEIMARER BEITRAEGE 9/1982, pp 100-115.
38. Bisky, "On the Extent...", as before, p 110.
39. Sports activities are among the popular but variously realized leisure time pursuits. Youth researchers and sports educators complain that the extent of sports activities declines even at a youthful age; especially apprentices, young workers and young women participate too little in sports. Time budget analyses, for example, have shown that 55 percent of students, 47 percent of apprentices and only 26 percent of young workers polled take part in sports once or several times a week. See "Youth Leisure Time," as before, p 190.

40. Meier/Wenzke, "Leisure Time of Students," as before, p 113.
41. Kludas, "Opportunities for Extracurricular....," as before, p 358.
42. Wiedemann, "Youth and the Arts....," as before, p 113.
43. See Peter Wensierski, "Protestant Youth Work in the GDR," in Reinhard Henkys (editor), "Die Evangelischen Kirchen in der DDR" [The Protestant Churches in the GDR], Munich 1982, pp 243-283.
44. Elfi Kosewaehr, "Studies on the Leisure Time Behavior of Young Offenders," in Hans Szewczyk (editor), "Der Fehlentwickelte Jugendliche und Seine Kriminalitaet (Medizinisch-juristische Grenzfragen)" [The Maladjusted Juvenile and His Criminality (Medico-Legal Borderline Issues)], vol 15, Jena 1982, pp 295-307.
45. "Youth Leisure Time," as before, p 243.
46. Ibid, p 244. 30,000 juveniles were studied in panel studies (1969-1981).
47. "Social Activity and Socialist Lifestyle," as before, pp 31f.
48. "Youth Leisure Time, as before, p 100. The methodological Definition of the concept "social activity" is not uniform in the various publications. The term is sometimes used in a very broad meaning to include the working as well as the non-working sector.
49. Friedrich/Mueller, "On the Psychology....," as before, pp 131f.
50. Ibid, pp 136f.
51. See, for example, Peter Wensierski/Wolfgang Buescher (editors), "Beton Ist Beton. Zivilisationskritik aus der DDR" [Concrete Is Concrete. Critique of Civilization from the GDR] (edition transit, vol 2), Hattingen 1982; Klaus Ehring/Martin Dallwitz, "Schwerter zu Pflugscharen. Friedensbewegung in der DDR" [Swords into Plowshares. Peace Movement in the GDR], Reinbek near Hamburg, 1982.
52. See, for example, "Social Activity and Socialist Lifestyle," as before, pp 19-33.
53. Ulrich, "On the Organization of Leisure by Apprentices," as before, p 33.
54. See, for example, Otmar Kabat vel Job, "Geschlechtstypische Einstellungen und Verhaltensweisen bei Jugendlichen" [Sex Specific Attitudes and Behavior Among Juveniles], East Berlin 1979; Uta Meier, "Men, Clothes, Lipsticks. On the Interpretation of Roles by Women and Men," SONNTAG 1/1983, p 7.
55. Hanke, "Leisure in the GDR," as before, p 66/
56. "Youth Leisure Time," as before, p 74.
57. Meier/Wenzke, "Leisure Time of Students....," as before, pp 345f.

CULTURAL POLICY GOALS, ACCOMPLISHMENTS LISTED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Mar 84 p 4

[Article by Andrzej Wasilewski: "Today and Tomorrow in Our Culture: The Most Important Matters"]

[Text] The dramatic shock through which Poland has passed brought both devastation and innovations in every area of life. The sphere of culture, being the traditional epicenter of our political shocks, has experienced and is experiencing their consequences to an especially high degree. The dimensions of the losses dealt culture by the elements of destructive chaos are great. But the potential for innovation activated under crisis conditions are promising.

This potential was already contained in the critical programs developed by creative party centers before August 1980, programs that contrasted with the cultural policy of that time. But the political conditions of putting them into practice arose only as a result of convulsive transformations. One can only complain that such a high price had to be paid for the innovations and that, because of this, the conditions of putting them into practice became less favorable than they might have been.

It may be claimed, with satisfaction, that the attitude toward cultural affairs of the political administration of the country changed fundamentally and that this change has a lasting basis in the thorough reevaluation of experiences of the policies of former years. An entire series of regulations, resolutions and orders created institutional protection for the economic and political existence of culture. The Cultural Development Fund insured its solid financial backing. The National Council for Culture was granted authority for an authentic partnership. Regulations on promulgating culture and on artistic institutions should create a legal-structural protection for basic forms of cultural activity. With respect to creativity, orders to present a facade and to maintain the position of subservient courtiers have vanished; on the contrary, what is valued is calling things by the right name and respecting the mutual partnership. Books whose publication was impossible for so many reasons stopped being a censorship problem.

But despite so many accomplished facts, setting relations in order in culture and developing the awaited better model is a matter that is hardly begun.

The resolutions of the Ninth Congress are the most mature collection of poin-

ters in the history of our cultural policy. What is lacking is the capacity to translate these resolutions into concrete tasks and purposeful goals that will lead to their being effective. Innovations undertaken at the central rung are only an impulse that grows weaker as it descends the rungs of realization to the bottom and in the end disappears for lack of action.

Various factors come together to create this phenomenon. At the centers of the administrative apparatus, it is the reluctance to innovate, the tendency to persist in the inertial formations and tried procedural methods that is inborn in every administration. On the part of representatives of the world of culture, it is the dominance of theoretical competence over practical imagination, the helplessness in the face of matters of an organizational nature. Finally, in a certain segment of cultural community, it is the erroneous conviction that matters should be left to their own course because this will automatically lead to the best possible results.

Unwillingness to innovate on the part of administrative personnel, practical incompetence on the part of innovative theoreticians and finally the shallow-thinking cultural politicians' cheap philosophy of giving up act together to make a sluggish and laborious task of converting into reality the potentials for improving the state of culture.

Many examples could be given here of incompetence in translating good recommendations into practical activity. It has been recommended for many years, for example, that the desire for books should be satisfied to a much greater degree by library loans. The libraries demand books in hard bindings, but no one figures out what must be done with investments in polygraphy to strengthen the weak bookbinding potential. For this reason the recommendation, while it meets with universal approbation, is stuck dead center and unchanged among proper but helpless good wishes.

The recommendation that Polish culture be promoted worldwide is also very positive. It is not necessary to justify its multifaceted significance further. Actually the levers of cultural promotion are indispensable not only for breaking through the isolation of Poland in the world, to which the actions of Poland's opponents have pushed her. They are necessary also to stem the flow of talented artists from the country. The fleeing composer, singer, director who does have the opportunity to perform at a high level, the graphic artist and painter who cannot be widely represented by albums and reproductions, the writer who cannot count on being launched by the efforts of institutions in his own country will have recourse to promotional producers and agencies outside the country.

Effective instruments for worldwide promotion are, therefore, essential for the self-esteem of the artist in his own country. But in spite of the continuous emphasis in resolutions on the importance of these matters, there has appeared not one competent institution, not one producer, not one production workshop that could transform the words of the resolution into practice.

If we want statements about the high rank of culture in the system of socialist values to be taken as seriously as they deserve, we cannot leave creative

workshops without practical help, painters without paints, graphic artists without posterboard, musicians without instruments, writers without the possibility of appearing in print quickly, all of them without a work place necessary for carrying out their professions. From these burdensome shortages is born a complex of giving up, a feeling of being handicapped in comparison with the professional positions of people in art in other countries. The most common reason for all of these shortages is the lack of ability to move from words to action.

Following dramatic statements, hope is generated for a positive evolution of attitudes in the world of culture. No sensible person wants to force changes in this world through administrative means. It is best when these are held at a distance from culture. But the wager on evolution cannot legitimize passivity or be an excuse for the shirkers and evaders or for those who dilly-dally.

As a rule, the evolution of attitudes follows the line of prevalent opinion, and he who counts on changes through evolution has, in the first place, to be concerned about the opinion-forming media, and must become all the more active in the battle for opinion. Meanwhile, in the columns of our cultural journals, few manifestations can be found of such concerted, opinion-forming activity. Some seem to accept the principle of drifting with the current regardless of whither they drift as the whole program. Others do what they can to support the widest dissemination of a contrary opinion. He who believes that the healthiest opinion is formed in an automatic fashion, and reduces his activity with this as a slogan, will live to see the evolution of attitudes, but for him they will certainly be negative. If this is so, then in this sphere also the wager on positive evolution requires effective practical moves that have the purpose of reinforcing opinion-creating power.

Most of the creative centers were able to free themselves of the distractions of the political crisis and joined the regenerated organizations. The formative process remains open and the principle, "Who is not against us is with us," should be their slogan.

In removing from our life the organizational structures rebuilt in 1981, the state authorities had to have recourse to painful decisions. Consciousness that these decisions were dictated by the duty to protect the sovereign existence of our culture should help to understand them. It was through just these structures that have been removed that an external factor broke into the life of our culture, a factor that attempted to subordinate creativity and education, the activities of all cultural centers to the political tendencies of centers active in the West that are inimical to socialist Poland. Such a loss of independence in directing the life of our own culture and in deciding the content of universal education cannot be reconciled with the existence of a sovereign country. No country that cares about its own interests can agree to having someone from outside, with destructive aims, take control of the centers of the life of the spirit in a society.

An attempt is continuing to transform our creative centers into a market place in which, with the help of attractive currency, minds, talents, and con-

sciences are bought to be made into political currency to serve in the show-down with our country.

We are not doing enough to break the atmosphere of moral lethargy that surrounds this wickedness, to awaken universal, countervailing public opinion that should detect the evil in this foreign pressure, regardless of how beautifully this evil is disguised.

To our universally respected norms must return the view from the best pages of our culture, the view that a Pole cannot be bought.

It would be best if the only force intervening in these instances were the force of public opinion itself. This is especially important in the world of culture with respect to which administrative repressions should be applied only in exceptional cases and as a last resort.

Despite what our opponents say, it is not our cultural policy, but their daily activity that is responsible for the unprecedented scale on which repressive instruments are applied to culture. They are the ones who organize continuous campaigns of personal vendettas, seances of hatred, black lists, libelous blackmail, and psychological terror.

We are determined to preserve the values of our culture from interference or administrative repression, and nothing will undermine this policy. It is a policy that is open to variety and to drawing on the values of the whole achievement of the modern world.

The most open cultural policy does not, however, exclude the application of policy. And this word does not mean anything else but activity, standing up for one's rights, creating a better opportunity for those who support us, who cooperate best with us. Regardless of the government, everywhere in the world priority and the broadest public circulation is given to those things that best answer the vital needs of the system in power.

In agreement with the position stated in the resolution of the Ninth Congress, we believe incontrovertibly that the content and quality of a work, not regard for the person of the author, should be decisive in making it public. This position also means that we must not yield to blackmail pressures to print work that is weak or exploited only because the name of the author is on the list of activists that are fighting against socialist Poland. I believe that, in general, no legitimization of the author -- either in opposition or in favor of the government -- should obscure the objective evaluation of the worth of a work.

Opening a violent campaign for disseminating works published abroad in the country, our opponents used the slogan of the solidarity of Polish culture. Obviously, we must agree with the fact that everything that is published in Polish belongs to the most broadly understood holdings of our culture. Valuable works free of animosity should be assimilated by the country.

But this slogan had as its primary purpose the flooding of the country with

publications saturated with animosity. False is the slogan that puts cultural unity in an advertisement and has national disunity as its purpose. No one will respect a divided nation paralyzed by internal battles and dragging along in the tail of the world race in technology and work.

There is no more important task for Polish culture today than uniting the nation and imbuing it with a common will to act. The nation that does not receive from its culture examples of behavior and a sense of realizing plans for a common future is a nation that may vegetate, but has no chance of prosperous development. There is no other program for existence in the future for Poland than that which emanates from the principles of a socialist state. Time continues to increase the distance dividing us from those occupied with the strenuous work of nations, and at the same time also increased is the burden of responsibility of Polish culture for the paucity of spirit, for the inadequacy of its participation in the formation of creative social attitudes.

Access to participation is open to all who can escape from the net of rancors, prejudices and distrust in which our baffling history has enmeshed them. The greater the number of honorable, creative people, concerned citizens, who cross this threshold, the better will be the chances of ordering our common house to meet our ambitions.

2950

CSO: 2600/892

NEW PASSPORT REGULATIONS CLARIFIED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish No 77, 30 Mar 84 p 6

[Article by Grzegorr Zalewski: "Almost Everything About Passports"]

[Text] What should a Polish citizen do when planning to go abroad? Information on this subject is supplied below by Colonel Zygmunt Szczepanski, department head at the Ministry of Internal Affairs' (MSW) Passport Office.

In Article 1.1, the passport law stipulates that "The document authorizing a Polish citizen to go abroad, as well as to return to Poland, is his passport." Article 1.2 of the same law extends this rule by allowing a special passport insert into a citizen's personal identity card (later replaced by a relevant annotation in this card) to be recognized as such a document.

Travel To Socialist Countries

Trips to socialist Countries

Trips to socialist countries may be made on the basis of two kinds of documents.

One such document is a citizen's personal identity card containing an annotation authorizing the bearer to cross the border, updated by a competent passport office of an Internal Affairs' Office. Such an annotation authorizes a citizen to go to six European socialist countries (German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, Hungarian People's Republic, People's Republic of Bulgaria, Socialist Republic of Rumania). For trips to Yugoslavia, a passport is necessary.

An updated annotation in personal identity cards also authorizes Polish citizens to participate in tourist trips organized by Polish travel agencies, and in tourist exchanges organized by trade unions and social organizations from interested countries.

To get a personal identity card updated, a citizen should file a completed form certified by his or her employer, school or higher school with a competent passport agency (MSW Passport Department). On the basis of this form, the latter inserts an annotation in the personal identity card, which authorizes the bearer to cross the border. Persons whose personal identity cards contain previous annotations of this sort pay no fee for the updating. Persons applying for an

annotation for the first time must, in addition to the proper form, supply a fee (300 zloty) and two photographs.

The other document authorizing a private citizen to cross the border individually is the passport. To get a passport for a private trip, a citizen must submit a certified copy of an invitation supplied by the inviting person [from a socialist country] to the passport agency. The traveler must have the original invitation to produce it on demand by border officials of the recipient country. A person going to socialist countries may also get an individual passport upon purchasing vouchers guaranteeing full board and accommodation in the country this person intends to visit.

To get a passport for a private trip, a citizen must submit a correctly and completely filled out passport form certified by his or her employer, school or higher school (nonworking pensioners should cite their old-age or disability pension code; no certification is required, for example, by the National Insurance Board ZUS), two photographs meeting passport agencies' requirements ("with left ear visible"), and a passport fee (not to be confused with fiscal charge stamps!) of 100 zloty.

Passports for private trips to socialist countries are now issued for 5 years and authorize bearers to cross [Polish] borders many times; these passports will be kept by the citizen. This marks the beginning of the "passports-kept-at-home" rule.

Travel To Capitalist Countries

Citizens may travel to capitalist countries exclusively on the basis of individual passports and transit and terminal visas granted by consular offices of countries the intended trip involves.

A traveler must submit a passport form at an MSW Passport Department, together with two photographs and 100 zloty in passport charge stamps. The form must be certified by the employer, school or higher school (nonworking pensioners need not get their applications certified). The traveler is obliged to submit the original of an invitation (which is used by Polish passport authorities alone). Persons subject to a general duty of military service should also produce an endorsement of the trip issued by a competent military body.

An invitation sent from abroad should be certified by a Polish consular office; certification by the inviting [sic] country's authorities is not required. The said invitation remains valid for 12 months after its certification by a Polish consular office.

The range of persons who may send such an invitation to a Polish citizen has now been significantly broadened. Before, it could be supplied only by close relatives, and only close relatives could be invited. Now, a citizen can receive an invitation from virtually everybody--either a foreigner or a Polish citizen--provided the latter's stay abroad is legitimate. Special cases, e.g., invitations from persons whose stay abroad is illegitimate, are considered by MSW passport offices on an individual basis.

An invitation for a trip to a capitalist country may also be extended by a foreigner temporarily staying in Poland (Polish consular offices provide special forms for such invitations). The inviting foreigner should specify the name of the person he or she is inviting, the terminal country and the duration of stay, and oblige himself or herself to cover the costs of accommodation, board and possible medical services abroad. Such an invitation must be certified by the [Polish] State Notary Public Office.

In cases of trips made on invitations to capitalist countries, passport agencies do not require persons holding foreign-currency bank accounts to produce evidence of foreign-currency possession or certificates of taking foreign currency abroad during the trip. Bank account holders wishing to carry foreign currency taken from these deposits abroad are supplied with pertinent certificates by the bank when withdrawing such money, which must be produced on demand by customs officers at border crossings.

In cases of group trips to capitalist countries organized by Polish travel agencies, invitations are of course not required. Formalities are discharged in accordance with these travel agencies' own rules. As in other kinds of trips, in group trips citizens have to submit passport forms, photographs, fees, certificates, etc, yet some formalities are taken care of by the travel agencies.

A passport for trips to capitalist countries is valid for 3 years and authorizes the bearer to cross borders many times, with the provision that, each time the bearer returns from abroad, he or she must return the passport to the passport agency which issued it within 14 days (formerly, within 7 days). When going on another trip to capitalist countries, a citizen submits what is called an a-bridged passport form, and is given his or her passport together with a border-crossing card.

Before The Tourist Season

Both the updating (verification) of annotations in personal identity cards and the issuance of passports are done in the event of a specific possibility for a trip abroad, that is, when a specific trip or private travel is planned for a specific invitation. Passport agencies are currently in no position to update annotations in personal identity cards or issue passports "for the future." Such a policy is in the interest of those who have plans for a specific trip [sic] and who have an invitation. When planning a trip, a citizen should bear in mind several general rules. First, there is the general rule following from Article 8.4 of the passport law, by which "A passport may be used only in accordance with the purpose for which it was issued." This means a passport bearer is obliged to observe the declared (in the passport form) purpose, nature, and duration of a stay abroad. In case the purpose, nature or duration of a stay abroad changes, the bearer should get an endorsement from [Polish] passport agencies via competent Polish consular offices.

We will soon be facing the tourist season, during which, as experience has shown trips abroad in all forms and geographic directions increase in number. So, in order to preserve the most positive relationship possible between offices and citizens in the area of passport matters, citizens should try to observe the following rules strictly:

--refrain from applying for an updated annotation in personal identity cards unless a specific trip is planned;

--refrain from applying for an individual passport without holding a specific invitation;

--to help simplify passport procedures, submit complete sets of required documents and correctly fill in the passport form, which is a prerequisite for granting a passport;

--try to submit documents required for granting a passport as early as possible, in order to enable [the passport agency] to keep the prescribed date for its issuance;

--if the applicant considers it to be relevant or advisable to supply a passport agency with significant information when considering the application--other than that provided in the passport form--he or she may present them under the heading "Additional information" on page 4 of the passport form.

In Case Of Refusal

It does happen that, despite all the required documents being submitted in their correct form and in due time, an applicant is refused a passport. Such a refusal, in keeping with the 5 December 1983 law may be issued only in strictly defined cases. The law's provisions concerning refusals of passports are in keeping with the Human Rights Covenants endorsed by the UN on 16 December 1966. A passport may be refused in the following cases:

1. When preliminary, judicial, or executive proceedings are under way against a person applying for a passport in connection with a criminal case subject to public indictment, or with a fiscal punitive case, or, if the proceedings have been conditionally suspended, less than 3 months have passed since the probationary period has ended.

2. When, for reasons of state security, national defense, or protection of official secrets, it is inadvisable to issue a passport, or when issuance of a passport may incur significant losses for the national economy or lead to serious disturbances in its functioning.

3. Various social considerations speak against issuance of a passport; in particular, when:

- (a) a dependent of the person applying for the passport must be given personal care of means of subsistence;

- (b) there are no guarantees that the costs of staying abroad will be covered;

- (c) the person applying for a passport cannot be guaranteed legal protection or care in the country to which he/she intends to go because of the lack of diplomatic relations between the Polish People's Republic and this country, or because of a special situation in the given country by which this person's life, health or personal freedom may be jeopardized.

4. When the person applying for a passport has not met an obligation stemming from law or ruled by a court or other competent agency toward the state, toward a public economic organization, or toward a natural person.

5. If, by behavior abroad, [the applicant] exposed the interests of the Polish People's Republic to danger.

6. If, during a stay abroad, [the applicant] exposed the reputation of the Polish People's Republic to danger, and if less than 2 years have passed since that time.

7. When [the applicant] violated Article 8.4 of the passport law (that is, when the passport was not used in accordance with the purpose for which it was issued) or when the bearer committed more than once a misdemeanor specified under Articles 23 or 24 (that is, when the bearer failed to abide by the 14-day grace period for returning the passport of the competent agency, or when the bearer lost the passport and failed to advise the competent agency about this fact).

Except for considerations specified under Article 2.2 (see point 2 above), a person who was refused a passport should in all cases be supplied by the refusing passport agency with a written substantive justification of this refusal. Every citizen may appeal a refusal by an MSW passport office at the superordinate body, that is, at the MSW Passport Office.

CSO: 2600/944

NEW CURRENCY EXCHANGE REGULATIONS ANNOUNCED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish No 77, 30 Mar 84 p 6

[Article: "Money Exchange Rules For Foreigners"]

[Text] In partial fulfillment of the recent law on foreign exchange, the finance minister issued (on 25 February) an ordinance concerning foreigners exchanging foreign currencies and settling their obligations with Polish currency of proven origin. This ordinance settles many questions concerning what is called mandatory exchange by foreigners in Poland and by Poles permanently residing abroad.

In Section 1 of this ordinance, these categories of persons are obliged to cover the costs of their stay in Poland with the Polish currency they acquire in exchange for foreign currencies at a Polish foreign-exchange bank or other agency authorized to exchange currencies on the basis of foreign-exchange permit. The ordinance provides for exceptions to this rule. Specifically, costs of stays in Poland may be covered by paying abroad for Polish travel agencies' services or health-resort services. These costs may also be covered with money taken from an account at a Polish foreign-exchange bank. The ordinance specifies cases in which the interested person is exempted from obligatory exchange. Such exemption may be applied to the following categories of persons:

- persons arriving to settle permanently in Poland;
- diplomatic or service passport holders;
- visitors of persons enjoying diplomatic status and privileges;
- minors up to 16 years of age;
- residents of countries with which Poland clears obligations in roubles;
- persons with acknowledged merits in developing cooperation with the Polish People's Republic;
- persons invited by state bodies or authorized social institutions;
- persons arriving to work or study;

--artists, upon producing contracts with an organization under the control of the Ministry of the Arts and Culture;

--persons with incomes based on ownership titles of Polonian firms; and

--persons arriving under all-inclusive exchange agreements, or for sport events.

Apart from these cases, Polish consulates granting visas abroad and competent agencies controlled by the Internal Affairs Ministry may grant exemptions, or reduce mandatory exchange rates, in emergency cases of personal misfortune, and for persons aged 65 or more if their material status justifies it. However, even exempted persons are obliged to pay hotel bills with Polish zloty acquired in a proven exchange of foreign currency.

No documents are required to prove the legitimate acquisition of Polish currency if a given single payment amounts to less than 1,000 zloty.

Daily [mandatory] foreign-exchange rates for covering the costs of a stay in Poland are determined by the Central Tourist Board Chairman. These rates are \$15 U.S. for foreigners arriving in Poland, and \$5 U.S. for Poles permanently residing abroad and holding consular passports.

CSO: 2600/943

PZPR NATIONAL DELEGATE CONFERENCE ISSUES DECLARATION

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish No 69, 21 Mar 84

[Declaration of the PZPR National Delegates Conference: "What Are We Fighting For, Where Are We Heading"]

[Text] Aware of the responsibility for the development of the socialist motherland, the National Delegate Conference presents the goals and aspirations of the Polish United Worker's Party [PZPR] for the coming years.

Our declaration stems from the historical experience of the nation, the heritage of the revolutionary working class movement and the achievements recorded in socialist Poland's 40 years of existence. It is based on the resolutions of the PZPR's 9th Extraordinary Congress which mapped out the working-class line of the party, the line of socialist renewal, understanding and struggle. Born out of a wide-ranging discussion, this declaration expresses the collective will of the party. Let every PZPR member advocate the ideals contained herein. By putting them into practice, let each member win for our cause the understanding and support of fellow workers, the younger generation, and all the citizens.

Our Origins and Ideological Principles

We are the party of the Polish working class, the working people of towns and the countryside. Marxism-Leninism is our ideology. Our goal is socialism. We are heirs to the tradition of struggle for national sovereignty and social justice, for socialist Poland. We protect and will develop all the patriotic and progressive elements of Polish history, while overcoming the wrong and the harmful ones which should only remain there as a warning.

We draw on the heritage of the great Proletariat, the Social Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania, the Polish Socialist Party-Left and the Communist Party of Poland. The ideas and accomplishments of the Polish Worker's Party (PPR) are especially dear to us. It was this party, the architect of a historic breakthrough, that drew the proper conclusions from the experience of the Polish working class movement, from the rich and difficult history of the nation. It combined in a creative manner the struggle for independent and secure state existence, just frontiers and infallible alliances, for Poland's new place in Europe, with revolutionary social transformations. We draw on the rich heritage of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) which, thanks to its left-wing

faction, was reborn in a revolutionary shape and made a great contribution to Poland's socialist transformations. The increasingly close cooperation between the PPR and the PPS led to the consolidation of the Polish working class movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

From the tradition of the Polish working class movement, we draw our ideological commitment, our patriotism, revolutionary perseverance and consistent class orientation, and the courage to transform reality.

By fusing patriotism with internationalism, we are carrying out the universal principles of socialism in Polish conditions. Our ideals are the following:

--the well-being and comprehensive development of man and the ever better satisfaction of his material and spiritual needs;

--the high rank and dignity of work as the source of material values, the basis of rapport between people and a factor shaping human character;

--social justice, consisting of the elimination of exploitation and unjustified privileges, the distribution of goods according to the quantity and quality of work, equality before the law, an equal opportunity in life for the younger generation and the social security of Polish families;

--people's power signifying the genuine participation of working people in solving the problems of the country, of enterprise and milieux;

--proletarian internationalism of communist and working class parties, unity and fraternal cooperation of members of the socialist community, international solidarity of working people in the struggle for national sovereignty, social progress and lasting peace.

It is the historic mission of our party to serve and lead the working class. By its very nature, this class is the advocate and principal builder of the system of social justice. Its aims reflect the fundamental needs of the working people and express the nation's interests. Only by allying themselves to the working class can the peasants and the intelligentsia implement their progressive aspirations; only in alliance with the former can the working class attain its historic goals.

Historical experience shows that leadership exercised by a party armed with the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism is indispensable in building socialism. While playing the leading role in the society and state, we are strengthening the working-class character of the PZPR. We deem it our duty to:

--consolidate the dominant role of the working class in society, in the entire state and economic life;

--be guided by working class interests in charting the program and ways of implementing it, in selecting the aims of socio-economic development and in overcoming the contradictions that may occur;

--mold the consciousness of the working class regarding its responsibility for the nation's destiny, and at the same time to learn from it and listen to workers' opinions;

--win people over to the program of socialist transformations, create conditions conducive to an increase in their social activeness, organize them in joint activity;

--ensure the decisive role of socialist moral patterns in shaping social relations and human attitudes;

--provide full opportunities for education and professional promotion to the younger generation and in particular the children of workers and peasants.

Being guided by Marxism-Leninism, the scientific ideology of the working class, we draw general conclusions from the experience of building socialism. We enrich our program, develop the contents and methods of action. We propagate the ability to analyze social phenomena and processes from a class point of view and popularize the scientific world outlook. We struggle against revisionism and opportunism, dogmatism and sectarianism, against everything that threatens to infringe on our principles, and to lead to a loss of class orientation, a weakening of the alliance with the working people, or ideological stagnation.

We are guided by the principles of democratic centralism, the requirement of ideological unity and organizational cohesion, criticism and self-criticism, collective decision-making and personal responsibility, creative discussion and initiative, and discipline equally binding all PZPR members.

We are a party that is open to ideologically committed people, righteous, courageous and conscientious workers, dedicated to serving society, active in the struggle against everything that threatens the public good. We are fighting against the pursuit of private interests, careerism, violations of the norms of laws, morality and professional ethics. We oppose insensitivity, arrogance, looking down on the working people, ignoring public opinion and disregard for criticism.

Our ideological, moral and socio-political principles serve the good of the entire society. Their observance is the precondition of the correct of socialist transformations.

Our Experiences

Owing to irreversible revolutionary transformations of its socio-political system, Poland embarked on the road of progress. A sovereign country, ruled by the people, emerged. The people reconstructed the destroyed country. The nationalization of the main branches of the economy removed constraints on the development of productive forces. Socio-political and material foundations for Poland's socialist existence were constructed.

Profound changes occurred in the social structure. The chief class antagonisms were overcome. The working class won the dominant position in society. The

foundations of the worker-peasant alliance were strengthened and expanded. A new intelligentsia, most of whose members had a worker or peasant background, developed.

Two great national problems were successfully solved:

--Guarantees of Poland's independence and security were created--the country was assigned a lasting place in the socialist community; the western and northern territories were restored to the homeland; Poland's internal strength and its alliance with the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community served to safeguard the sovereignty, permanent frontiers and peaceful development of the country;

--Poland rose from its economic backwardness and disastrous wartime destruction; the industrial foundations for its development were created; the working people won wide-ranging social rights; education, culture and health care have become generally available.

Socialist transformations are not equally advanced in all spheres. A uniform socio-economic socialist base has not been fully created. Class differentiation exists. Insufficient productivity and an inefficient use of raw materials, energy and productive assets adversely affect living standards. A substantial legacy of backwardness in social consciousness and the influence of hostile ideology hamper the growth of socialism.

We do not intend to embellish the picture of achievements during the past 40 years. We took over responsibility for a poor and destroyed country. We had to make many sacrifices and paid a high price to reconstruction and reach successive stages of development. We have not escaped errors and failures. Class enemies have attempted to disrupt our development. Opposition appearing in the complex process of profound social transformations has repeatedly accumulated and turned into dangerous conflicts and crises. These conflicts have all had in common the loosening of the party's ties with the working people and the undermining of workers' trust. This happened because the principles of socialism were violated, the laws of socio-economic development were ignored, the Leninist norms of party life and the rule of the people were broken, and class vigilance diminished.

Enemies of socialism have tried to use this situation ruthlessly and cynically. The forces of imperialism, particularly the U.S. Government, believed that a divided, weak Poland, which was in danger of an internal showdown, would be their chance to enfeeble the socialist community and threaten international security.

Domestic enemies of socialism have been drawing their inspiration from these anti-Polish sources. After August 1980, they tried to dismantle the state, to ruin the economy and to bring about a fratricidal conflict. We have managed to avert the threat of a national tragedy on our own. The road to a counter-revolutionary coup was blocked. The imposition of martial law in defense of constitutional order helped to preserve peace and the chance to implement the 9th Congress program. This truth must not be forgotten.

Three difficult years have passed. Poland is different from what it was before August 1980 and before December 1981. We have drawn profound and lasting conclusions from the post-August crisis and an analysis of its causes. Through a self-critical evaluation of its mistakes, the party has testified to its political honesty and moral strength, it has reaffirmed its right to lead the nation in the process of socialist renewal.

Our program of conciliation, struggle and reform reflects our intention of building a modern, strong and democratic state and an efficient economy. Implementation of this program strengthens the working class's dominant role in the country's life, consolidates the principles of justice and the rule of the people, prevents dangerous social conflicts and disarms the enemies of socialism.

We will collaborate with everyone who sincerely wants to work for the country's good. But we will also struggle against the enemies of socialism--the enemies of the national cause--consistently and relentlessly. We will firmly fight all who want to continue igniting conflicts and harming the country. What Poland needs most is conciliation and unification of social forces in patriotic service, in joint work.

Socialism is the historic chance for Poland and Poles. This truth is winning. This truth will be victorious.

A Better Future For Working People

The main objectives set out in the party's socio-economic program are to provide satisfactory living conditions for each Polish family, to go increasingly further in meeting the needs of working people, and to strengthen Poland's economic potential, thereby laying the foundations for the prosperity of future generations. The most urgent task at the moment is to restore economic equilibrium and the conditions for harmonious development. Achieving this requires improved efficiency and more rational use of the nation's labors, increased productivity and improved quality standards, technological and organizational progress, and economical production methods. To this end, planning and management methods, are to be improved and the country's economic structure is to be modernized. These undertakings require a high level of public economic awareness and a correct approach on the part of both management and workers. The economic reform is helping to improve efficiency and satisfy social needs. We declare ourselves to be in favor of a consistent continuation of the reform, which combines the strengthening of the strategic function of central planning with the development of individual initiative and increased personal responsibility for the quality of work and management. Improving the principles and mechanisms of the reform and correctly formulating the goals of economic policy should help unite the interests of producers with those of the entire nation. One of the most important tasks is to establish a closer link between wages and work. We shall oppose the headlong pursuit of easy profits and all attempts to abuse the reform in order to achieve unjustified and selfish benefits. Economic policy should ensure that the structure of production adapts itself to social demands. Solid foundations are gradually being established for stabilizing the consumer market and money supply. We face years of hard struggle to rebuild and strengthen Poland's position within the international division of labor, in accordance with the country's needs and economic potential. In developing our economic,

scientific and technological cooperation with abroad we attach particular importance to reorienting this cooperation toward the Soviet Union and the other Comecon countries and strengthening the process of socialist integration. We will systematically develop Poland's specialization in production and exports, basing ourselves on a long-term plan of utilizing and developing our production potential and domestic raw and intermediate materials. We are developing the food industry. Feeding the nation is the main task facing agriculture. The state's active and consistent agricultural policy should help Poland achieve self-sufficiency in food production. The party and the United Peasants Alliance [ZSL] will continue to defend this policy, which treats all sectors of agriculture on an equal basis. While improving the working and living conditions of the rural population and providing it with a sense of stability, we will be improving the conditions for increasing production in all sectors of agriculture, laying the basis for this production to be profitable, increasing the level of manufactured agricultural supplies, encouraging progress in farming technology and improving expert agricultural knowledge and training programs. We will be creating the legal, material and social conditions for improving the agrarian structure. The lasting character of our agricultural policy does not prevent farmers from voluntarily establishing collectivized forms of large-scale commodity production in agriculture. The party will promote the consolidation and expansion of state and cooperative farms. These should be the driving force in increasing output, encouraging social progress, and improving living and working conditions in rural areas.

Achieving real progress in meeting the demand for housing is a matter of the utmost social urgency. This requires tapping all the reserves of the construction industry and supporting all sound initiatives, especially those taken by young people. This also requires a just housing policy.

There is a place in this country's economy for socially useful private trades and other forms of private small-scale manufacturing. Together with the Democratic Alliance [SD], we will create stable conditions for the development of this sector, categorically opposing exploitation and deformations which conflict with the public sense of justice and the basic principles of Poland's political and social system.

We are currently pursuing our social and economic objectives in unfavorable and extremely difficult conditions. This situation imposes certain constraints and requires consistency and endurance. The party and the government are openly submitting their proposals for public discussion and are consulting society about their plans. The decisions that are made have to be correct and understandable, they have to promote efficiency, and they have to distribute the burden of the present difficulties in a just manner, providing protection for those who have found themselves in the greatest hardship and are unable to improve their living standards by their own labors.

We have to struggle against indolence and mismanagement, against tolerance of slack discipline and poor quality standards, and against ill will. We must also combat passivity, bureaucracy and insensitivity, extravagance and wastefulness, and any remnants of or return to arrogant and aristocratic attitudes. We will persistently fight attitudes that conflict with socialist ethics, i.e., putting personal and vested interests above those of the country as a whole, neobourgeois and nouveau riche greed, attempts to get rich at the expense of others.

We are stepping up our fight against theft, corruption, embezzlement, parasitism and profiteering and dishonest price manipulations. Each and any person who breaks the law and acts in a fashion detrimental to society will be prosecuted and punished. Fighting evil is the duty of all honest people.

The party is initiating and supporting the development of various forms of control involving workers, farmers, and all groups of working people.

Resolving the complex problems of the present day does not absolve us of our responsibility for the future. We have to satisfy the requirements created by the large growth in the population and establish proper conditions for the intellectual, moral and physical development of the new generations, exploiting the opportunities that they present for the development of the state and the good of these generations themselves. We have to launch a struggle against the growing threat to the natural environment. To keep pace with world technological progress, we have to prevent the aging of our productive assets and take more effective steps to modernize them.

Polish society is young, energetic and educated. We have considerable land and important natural resources at our disposal. We have already provided the economy with sound foundations in production and technology. There are wide opportunities for economic cooperation with the socialist countries. The future depends on how we avail ourselves of these opportunities.

The next few years will see a battle for Poland's economic and political position in the world. The party calls on all those who are concerned about the fate of their homeland to participate in it.

The Socialist Rule Of The People

The socialist Polish state is the nation's special treasure. Only a strong, efficient and law-abiding state may successfully organize collective effort and protect the country's sovereignty and independent existence. We identify the essence of this kind of state with the idea of people's democracy. A country ruled by the people is strong due to its citizens' support and their real influence on public affairs. Strong and efficient socialist authorities, in turn, are indispensable for realizing working people's aspirations. We say yes to socialist democracy and self-government, and no to anarchy and destruction.

We will continue to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance, which is the class foundation of the political system in Poland. We will also reinforce the workers' and peasants' alliance with the intelligentsia. This alliance results from all working people's common goals; it ensures the intelligentsia's prestige and enables it to realize its socio-professional aspirations in its service to the nation.

We set great store by the historically established system of exercise of power, which is based on the PZPR's alliance with the United Peasants Alliance [ZSL] and the Democratic Alliance [SD], with the participation of groups of lay Catholics and other Christians which support progressive social ideas. The system of exercise of state power based on this alliance distributed the responsibility for socio-economic policies among all the participants in the alliance.

The party plays the guiding role in the political system; it ensures that the state's functioning agrees with working people's interests and that all citizens, particularly the working class, have an increasing influence on methods of solving the problems of the country and individual circles.

We will improve the existing conditions so that the representative bodies--the Sejm and people's councils--may perform their constitutional roles. The Sejm operates fruitfully, creating and guarding the law, planning the country's socio-economic development, and providing guidelines for and controlling the functioning of the state administration. People's councils assume real responsibility for their districts, coordinating social initiative and energy for the satisfaction of local needs and the execution of general social tasks, and harmonizing the role of local self-government with the duties of organs of state authority.

We promote the development of the Patriotic Movement of National Revival, which is a platform for cooperation between all public organizations and citizens who are constructing socialist Poland's welfare in accordance with the provisions of the constitution. We support all PRON initiatives which contribute to public conciliation and development of socialist democracy, which inspire public activity and efforts to resolve Poland's problems in general and the problems of individual communities. We consider PRON's development, the implementation of its constitutional role and the strengthening of its public prestige as an important condition of further favorable transformations in Poland.

Poland's interest requires that all citizens, including members of the PZPR and the alliances, people who do not belong to any party, believers and nonbelievers, to engage in public activity. We are guided by the conviction that the unity of the essential goals and strivings of the nation, socialist Poland's interests, the duty to overcome threats which have accumulated in Poland and this country's further prosperous development ranks higher than differences in outlooks.

The principles of Poland's denominations' policy are inviolable. The main provisions include citizens' equality, regardless of their attitude toward religions; freedom of conscience and religion; the ability of the church and religious unions to discharge their religious duties and the equal rights they enjoy; the demarcation between the church and the state; and the lay character of state and educational institutions. Respecting these provisions is a condition for constructive cooperation between the state and the church and religious unions in many spheres of the nation's life. Supporting these provisions, the party considers as inadmissible all manifestations of religious intolerance and abuse of religious feelings for activities which are incompatible with the law and interests of the Polish People's Republic.

We consider the development and strengthening of the position of independent, self-managing trade unions as another important task. Active, energetic trade unions are exacting partners for the state and economic administration. Such partners are necessary for the working people to recognize the unions as efficient representatives of their interests and for the workforce's coresponsibility for an enterprise's importance and Poland's development to grow.

We will put into practice the socialist idea of workers', farmers' and co-operatives' self-management and local self-government. We expect that in all their actions, self-management bodies will harmoniously combine the needs of their communities and national interests. To develop self-management, it is necessary to wear down the resistance and conservative mentality of some members of the state and economic administration and to oppose egotistic and particularist attitudes of certain professional communities toward the state and the national economy.

We are supporting the development of socialist youth unions. We want them to teach patriotism, internationalism, democracy, independence and self-management, to shape young people's attitudes and activities in accordance with socialist ideals, and to meet current needs. We want their natural innovation, critical attitudes and desire to struggle against the evil to be transformed into a dynamic factor of progress. We want them to teach a mature interpretation of civil rights and duties. We will eliminate the barriers which prevent the young and their organizations from participating in the resolution of Poland's problems, we will help uncover and develop young people's talents and foster social and professional promotion of the young.

The party which plays the guiding role in the state is in charge of the personnel policy. We are putting into practice this policy's new provisions. In accordance with these provisions, only professional qualifications, ideological and moral values, and public attitudes should determine who is chosen for a given post. In the process of educating, selecting and promoting personnel, we are struggling with incompetence, dishonesty and protectionism. We are betting on talented, hardworking, honest people who are ready to work selflessly and fruitfully for the country.

We will continue to develop the system of public consultations and discussions and the open character of public life. Truthful information about the situation of the state and economy, about the authorities' actions and intentions and protection of the right to criticism--all these are important conditions of democracy.

We are attributing great importance to a versatile mass media, to the press, radio and television, which serve an efficient transfer of information and, at the same time, struggle for socialist ideals. The media are partly responsible for the public's consciousness. They should propagate concern for public property, popularize a class approach to various processes, increase moral sensitivity and struggle against evil.

Shaping public attitudes should be done amidst creative discussions serving the construction of socialism.

For A Versatile Development Of Man

We strive for a harmonious physical and spiritual development of individuals, for the promotion of talented people and for meeting the material needs of man, who sees the sense of his life in connection with other people, who is a patriot tied to the supreme values of socialism, namely social justice, humanism and

democracy. We confront petty bourgeois egoism and the cult of materialism and money with socialist morality, in which man's value is determined by his work and public sensitivity. We understand the party's ideological activeness as a consistent effort to bring human attitudes and interpersonal relations as close as possible to social ideals and moral models of socialism and to permeate the contents of everyday life with values born out of the moral heritage of mankind, values which are deeply rooted in the working class tradition, namely righteousness, honesty and sensitivity to other people's problems.

It is also the party's concern to improve the conditions for families' proper development, to relieve the difficult life of mothers and wives and to put into practice the ideal of equal rights for women.

We have intensified the struggle against demoralization, social ills and alcoholism which poses a special threat to the moral and physical health of the nation. We struggle against brutal and aggressive actions. We strive to make kindness, harmony, tact, culture and respect for the elderly and the merited dominate public life.

Another extremely important task is to develop and perfect the system of national education. Making secondary education general, combining instruction with education and work and providing all young people an equal access to knowledge are the main provisions of the educational policy.

We strive to develop the cognitive, educational and opinion-shaping role of science, to increase its contribution to the shaping of public consciousness. Improving the material and organizational conditions for the development of Polish science, we provide special support for those studies which are likely to help resolve important problems involving science and technology, environmental protection, the food industry, state organization, economic management and national education. We desire to resolve the complex problems of society's development in cooperation with men of intellect and to base our decisions on honest analyses.

People's Poland prides itself upon cultural and artistic achievements. But society needs new works born of our national heritage and reflecting the richness of contemporary life, including the pursuits, achievements and concerns of the working people. We have taken measures to expand working people's access to culture and its creation. Socialist ideological and moral choice, effective forms of the promotion of culture, a partnership relation with intellectual communities and self-management of their organizations--these are lasting provisions of the cultural policy.

The party respects various forms of intellectual activity and protects creative freedom. Shaping conditions for the development of education, science and culture, we expect the intelligentsia to continue to enrich the traditions of progress and to discharge its public and patriotic obligations in a wise and responsible manner.

To Ensure Poland A Due Place In The World

We want to make an increasingly great contribution to the progress of all mankind, the consolidation of peace, the development of civilization and culture, the overcoming of hunger and the struggle against the destruction of the natural environment. We strive for the elimination of injustice, diktat and violence in international relations.

A permanent and dignified place in the community of socialist states, membership in the Warsaw Pact and increased participation in the socialist division of labor within the Comecon organization are the guarantees of Poland's position in Europe and in the world and a fundamental principle of its policy. The alliance, friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union is a great historic gain for Poland and an inviolable principle of the policy of the party and state. The last few difficult years once again confirmed the value of that internationalist cooperation. Its development, based on proven Leninist principles, the common aims and ideological bonds between the PZPR and the CPSU, serves well both fraternal countries as well as the cause of peace and socialism. By consolidating friendship and fraternal cooperation with other socialist countries, we seek at the same time to establish equal and mutually advantageous relations with states with different social systems.

Dangerous trends exist in the world. Aggressive forces, especially those of American imperialism, threaten peaceful coexistence. The main objective of the socialist countries is to preserve peace in Europe and the world and to frustrate the designs of the reactionary forces attempting to impose their will on the world at any price, to upset the military equilibrium that has evolved in the world, and to replace dialogue in international relations with imperialist diktat.

With its painful experience of war, Poland will always be on the front line of the defenders of peace. We will strengthen our unity with members of the socialist community, develop cooperation with all the peace-loving forces in the world, and persist in efforts to solve the problems that arise in the world through honest negotiations and agreements.

The right to live in peace is the most important of all human rights and values. Around this value we will build the unity of the nation, sensitive as it is about the safe development of its sovereign state; we will strengthen our national defenses and the Polish socialist armed forces which safeguard that value.

We appeal to workers, peasants and the intelligentsia:

Behind us are 40 years of people's rule and socialist transformations. The achievements of that period, born of the great, creative toil of the nation, serve as a foundation for defining new goals and objectives of the building of socialism. Their implementation will be a long, drawn-out process and it will not be devoid of contradictions and difficulties.

What Poland needs is concordant, wisely organized and future-oriented work of the nation. On this--and this alone--the fruitful utilization of the existing material and intellectual potential of the country will depend. Only this can ensure a prosperous development of the motherland.

We appeal to the younger generation of Poles:

The essence of your patriotic duties lies in continuing and developing that which is good, overcoming that which is bad and transforming that which is obsolete. While respecting the fruits of the work of the older generations, try to solve your problems better, advance faster and farther. The aims you are confronted with today will become feasible when you reach out for them with the vigor characteristic of youth, with ambition and courage, with a zeal that can tear down obstacles.

We call on all Poles:

It is, to a great extent, up to us alone to see to it that, at the threshold of the 21st century, Poland will be a country free from the threat of war, assured of its sovereignty and the security of its frontiers and capable of independent, prosperous growth, that it will be a land of socialist democracy and social justice, an efficiently run and lawful state, a credible ally and a welcome partner in international relations, that it will be the motherland of people confident in their strength, who do not stop multiplying material and spiritual wealth, who are full of faith in the future and well prepared to meet the challenge of the next century.

This is what we are fighting for, this is where we are heading.

National Delegate Conference of the Polish United Worker's Party

CSO: 2600/942

PLIGHT OF REFUGEES, EMIGRES IN GERMANY DESCRIBED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 31 Mar 84 p 5

[Article by Zbigniew Ramotowski: "Not Everyone Finds The West A Paradise Stranger Among 'His Own' People"]

[Text] He arrived here in November 1977. He brought with him his wife, two daughters aged 4 and 16, two chests containing his most prized possessions, and--as he now realizes--a bagful of illusions. He believed stories about a Western paradise which allegedly was waiting impatiently for the most skilled workers, especially if they were--as he was--"Germans from beyond the Oder and the Neisse."

The first weeks seemed to confirm his expectations. Sooner than others, he was able to leave the Friedland temporary center for resettlers. In no time, he found a temporary dwelling, then a permanent residence. Changing his citizenship was a trifle. After all, he had come to "his own" people, as one of them.

The idyll, however, was short-lived. He lacked what was most important to him, and not only for material reasons, namely, a job. In Johann Langer--for this is the name under which his story was released for the press--they found flaws in his linguistic skills, despite his 1-year German language course. They blamed him for being unfamiliar with local customs and relations, and for his almost childish naivety. This previously respected--nay, irreplaceable--electrician from [the Silesian city] Bytom appeared strangely out of place in the West-German Koblenz. One head of personnel at a local electrical plant, clearly annoyed by Langer's repeated [job] applications, even called him an "asocial individual."

Three Revisions

For how long, and at what terms, can one afford to be jobless? So. Langer had to make the first revision of his picture of the West; it is not a paradise for everyone.

A second revision came when, in the 3d year of his stay in West Germany, the arrival from Silesia finally did find a job in his trade. First, he had to move from Koblenz to Dusseldorf. Second, he had to forget his once independent position as qualified electrician and accept the post of ordinary skilled

worker. Third, his 20 years of vocational experience interested no one. Nobody would recognize Polish certificates here, while Langer's expertise and practical skills only proved to be thorns in the flesh of his colleagues who were concerned about the tough competition this arrival "from the East" was suddenly giving them.

Eventually, his closest coworkers began to tease, harass, and blackmail him. To irritate Langer, they asked questions such as does Poland really have its own power-generating plants" They instructed him on how to flush the toilet. They charged him with lack of experience in using sinks.

Langer was determined to hold out. He decided to persevere. Yet, when one day he found a drawing of a pig with the caption "Pole" underneath addressed to him, he burst. Since last autumn, he had again been at home, looking for a job. Yet another revision made him realize that he had come not to "his own" people; they simply repudiate him. He has ceased to dream of a new career. But he is only 52.

Experiences Shared By Thousands

I would not have recounted this story, which was reported even more drastically by the Hamburg-based weekly DIE ZEIT (on 2 March), because many people, and not only in West Germany, have had luck in life, were it not for the fact that this sad story is interesting as it is a rather typical case. It is typical of thousands of people, more precisely of often educated, energetic and enterprising young people emigrating to West Germany within the so-called family reunification project. The flurry of similar reports in the West German press recently confirms the fact that Langer's story holds for many people.

"Despite desperate endeavors," the Bonn-based GENERAL ANZEIGER Commented on 17 March, "resettlers of German origin from Eastern countries, especially from Poland, are finding it increasingly difficult to stand on their own feet in West Germany." Like many others, especially in the North-Rhine-Westphalia land, the GENERAL ANZEIGER commentator based his remark on scientifically collected and analyzed facts recently presented by Professor Friedhelm Farthmann, this land's social democratic minister for social affairs. These facts were disclosed in a study conducted by the local Institute for Social Work, using 1,000 young people who had recently settled here, most of them from Poland, as a representative sample.

Although mostly young, educated people were involved, and although they generally speak good German (all of them had finished special language courses here), their chances for getting jobs were "distinctly worse" than those of their peers who were born in West Germany. Only 36 percent of these "resettlers" found jobs in their trades, while 30 percent had to learn new trades, and 19 percent have found no jobs at all.

While they are demonstratively recognized--especially by politicians--as Germans, in reality they are second-rate citizens--either aliens or "worse Germans." As unemployment is raging (some 2.5 million people are now jobless) and those groups in the worst economic position suffer a considerable degradation in

their material status (some 2.3 million West German citizens are dependent on welfare), arrivals from the East are the first--after Turks and other "guest workers"--to suffer. They have ceased to be welcome as (Farthmann pointed out) desired diligent and skilled employees. They have come to be regarded as competitors. West Germany is no exception; wherever there are lines, people get nervous, envious and resentful. Meanwhile, mile-long lines in front of employment offices or welfare agencies are a fact which is impossible to ignore in West Germany.

The arrivals' situation is further compounded by a very special factor which, as Farthmann observed, has become a very dramatic experience for many in recent years. The thousands of immigrants include people who arrived here as tourists, to suddenly discover they were "germans"--and stayed. Rather than reunification, separation of families emerged as a process which was, admittedly, short-lived, but nonetheless socially harmful. Many immigrants, as the Social Democratic politician told newsmen, suffer additional frustrations and breakdowns as they are trying to start a new, and anything but luxurious life separated from their closest kin--wives, husbands, child or children. The Bonn government's austerity program is an additional brake in the process of assimilating the arrivals, said Farthmann.

"I fear many more hopes will be frustrated," concluded the minister.

CSO: 2600/949

CZYREK DISCUSSES PZPR INTERNAL, EXTERNAL POLICIES

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 6, 14 Mar 84 pp 3, 4

[Interview with PZPR Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek conducted by Ignacy Wirski: "In The Interests Of Poland, Peace And Socialism"]

[Text] Zycie Partii: Within the Politburo, you are responsible for international issues, cooperation with communist and workers' parties and foreign policy. How would you assess the present international position and international work of our party? Haven't the difficulties of the past period weakened our work here?

Jozef Czyrek: It's true that over the past few years our attention has been concentrated on resolving the complex and urgent problems and tasks involved in achieving socio-political stability inside the country. So it might seem as if these issues have somewhat overshadowed our international activities. This, however, has never been the case, and it never could be, for the simple reason that our internal and external problems are very closely interrelated. Poland's present problems cannot be examined, far less solved, in separation from international affairs, from the struggle between classes and ideologies that is taking place in the contemporary world. This interrelation has always meant that the party must be constantly active on international questions [...].

The basic guidelines and aims of our international work were defined in the resolution of the 9th Extraordinary Congress and developed in resolutions adopted at subsequent plenary meetings of the Central Committee. At the 9th Congress, we emphasized that this work contributes to socialist Poland's independence and security, strengthens its development and international position, reinforces the cohesion of the socialist community and strengthens peaceful cooperation in Europe and the world as a whole. We also stressed that the beginning of the 80's had witnessed the emergence of an enormous threat to mankind due to imperialist attempts to alter the existing balance of forces, gain military supremacy over the socialist community and reverse the progressive changes taking place throughout the world.

Developments since then have confirmed this assessment and shown that the line of opposing the deterioration of the international situation is fully justified. Poland has found itself in the front line of the struggle. Exploiting our grave

internal difficulties and an increase in activity among opponents of socialism, political circles in the West have set themselves the objective of turning Poland into a testing-ground for confrontation and an antisocialist crusade.

This clearly confirms how the internal and external aspects of the class struggle are mutually interrelated.

Our domestic and foreign policy is directed toward foiling these plans, laying the basis for a consistent pursuit of socialist renewal, in accordance with the line defined at the 9th Congress, and rebuilding and strengthening Poland's position in the socialist community and in the world in general [...]. Despite the attempts of the governments of the USA and other NATO states to organize a blockade of Poland, our active presence on the international arena has not weakened.

Question: Friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries occupies a prominent position in Poland's foreign policy. What impact have the events of recent years had on Poland's relations with its allies and friends? What are these relations like today?

Answer: The fraternal alliance, friendship and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union, together with Poland's position in the family of socialist states, in the Warsaw Pact and in Comecon, are the foundations of Poland's sovereignty and security. They guarantee the inviolability of Poland's frontiers and allow Poland to play an active role in European and world politics. The activities launched by antisocialist forces, including political and military circles in the USA and NATO, were designed to put these foundations to the test. Today we can say quite confidently that these people's plans have come to nothing. During the last 2 years, we have done a lot to consolidate and develop Poland's relations with its socialist allies. The talks that Polish party and state delegations led by Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski held in the Soviet Union and other socialist states have been of the utmost importance in this respect. The development of broad cooperation and mutual relations has been assisted by discussions and meetings between the leaders of fraternal countries, including the discussions of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee and the meetings of secretaries for international and ideological problems, and by wide-ranging contacts at various international levels. The last few months have seen important visits to Poland by party and state delegations from East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, led by Comrades Honecker, Husak and Kadar.

The understanding and support of our friends, the development of cooperation, and the tangible assistance we've received, particularly from the Soviet Union, have been a very significant factor in helping us overcome the crisis, especially the difficulties caused by Western "sanctions." Our friends have always offered us support in countering the West's attempts to interfere in Poland's internal affairs. To quote the January 1983 Prague Declaration of the Political Consultative Committee, "Poland's internal affairs are and will be a matter for Poland alone."

The strength, cohesion and unity of cooperation of the socialist countries are of fundamental importance in countering the negative effects of the aggressive,

cold-war politics pursued by the Reagan administration. This cooperation is crucial in holding the forces of militarism in check and preventing them from carrying out their adventurist plans. This also applies to the revanchist tendencies that are enjoying a resurgence west of the Elbe [...].

Question: What position have other parties in the international communist and workers movement taken regarding events in Poland? What is the present state of Poland's relations with these parties?

Answer: The whole international communist and workers movement has followed events in Poland closely. The decisive majority of them have displayed understanding for the efforts of the party and are confident in our ability to consolidate ourselves ideologically and organizationally in the struggle against opponents of socialism, to rebuild our links with the working class and to our leading role in society. These parties have countered anti-communist propaganda and attempts to distort events in Poland in their own countries.

Some communist parties in the West, however, have taken a critical attitude toward the decisions of the Polish authorities. This criticism has often gone very far, so much so that it sometimes resembles bourgeois propaganda. This kind of position has been adopted by the Communist Party of Italy and by the parties of Holland, Belgium, Spain and a few other countries.

While respecting each party's right to work out its own position on all matters, we have been doing a lot to inform them about the development of the situation in Poland, about the reasons for our decisions and the effects they produce. Since December 1981, we have sent seven letters of information to communist and workers' parties, and also to those social-democratic ones with whom we maintain relations. During the same period, leaders of several parties (including those of Portugal, Greece, Denmark and Luxemburg) have visited Poland and Polish delegations have taken part in many party congresses abroad [...].

We are devoting special attention to the development of cooperation with revolutionary and progressive parties outside Europe. We have always offered political and moral support to those forces fighting for national and social liberation, for political and economic independence, against imperialist interference and all manifestations of neocolonialism and racism. We are happy to see the progress being made by those states, parties and political movements which have embarked upon a non-capitalist road of development. We are extremely interested in further developing mutual political, economic and cultural relations with the developing and non-aligned countries [...].

Question: What progress has been made in overcoming hostile attitudes toward Poland in the developed Western countries? Is there any chance of breaking the deadlock in East-West relations?

Answer: We have always been in favor of dialogue and cooperation to mutual advantage with the developed capitalist countries, on an equal basis, respecting each other's rights. Poland has traditionally had good relations with many Western countries which fought against the Nazis. Poland does not bear any responsibility for the present state of relations with these countries.

The passage of time has shown that the policy of pressures and restrictions is doomed to failure. No propaganda can disguise this fact. True, the restrictions have done us a lot of harm. The losses suffered by the Polish economy have recently been estimated at \$12.5 billion, and these losses keep growing. We presented our official position on this matter in a note to the U.S. Administration last October.

We value the growing understanding in Western political circles of the fact that the policy toward Poland imposed by NATO over 2 years ago is futile and harmful. We are willing to engage in dialogue with all forces guided by a sense of realism and a genuine concern for the state of international relations.

This situation is serious. The unprecedented arms programs adopted by the West and the deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe undermine the strategic balance and pose the threat of a dangerous new stage in the arms race. The situation is further aggravated by imperialist activities, including open intervention, which heighten tension and conflicts in various parts of the world, especially in the Middle East, Central America and southern Africa. The present complex situation in the world makes it necessary for as many political and social forces as possible to join together to counter these dangerous trends.

Question: Are you optimistic or pessimistic regarding the future of international relations?

Answer: From a strategic point of view, one should always be an optimist. This is part of our party's ideology. We believe that the best and most valuable features of the human race will win out. However, in everyday terms, in the face of concrete facts and problems, one has to be a realist, soberly and carefully examining contemporary European affairs, including Polish affairs, and recognizing their complexity and the mutual interdependence between them [...].

The defense of peace has always been of central importance to communist and workers' parties. Today, the defense of peace has become the overriding task uniting our entire movement and all progressive forces in the world. Enormous social forces, hundreds of millions of people of goodwill, want a peaceful future, the kind of future which the socialist countries have been consistently struggling for. And it is this which gives me grounds for my "strategic" optimism.

Zycie Partii: Thank you for the interview.

CSO: 2600/948

CHURCH ROLE IN POLITICS DISCUSSED

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 11, 11 Mar 84 pp 1, 3

[Article by Andrzej Micewski: "The Church Should Side With The Nation"]

[Text] The title of this article is the famous maxim which Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski followed for over 30 years, spiritually and ideologically in his pastoral service as primate of Poland.

But what does this mean today, when the situation and conditions are constantly changing? Cardinal Wyszynski wanted the church, its leaders and clergy, to pay careful attention to the aspirations, hopes and desires of Polish society, and to act accordingly. The late primate continued the tradition of Poland's thousand years of history, when the church was often the repository of Poland's spiritual and cultural identity, especially at times of greatest difficulty. This was particularly true when Poland was divided up into a number of duchies, when the cult of the first Polish saints--St Adalbert and St Stanislaus--was an important integrating factor. It became even more evident when Poland was partitioned, when the church, prayer and hymns were the chief vehicle for preserving the Polish language and Polish culture among the masses, while the cult of Our Lady of Czestochowa and Our Lady of Ostra Brama (in Vilnius) enormously strengthened the unity of Polish society, then living in three different states. During the Nazi occupation as well, in fact the entire recent history of the Polish nation, the church played an important role in offering spiritual support to the struggle being waged by Polish society.

In my opinion, the idea that the church's feelings and thoughts should correspond to those of the nation retains all its relevance today, although changing circumstances create a need to define what this actually means as precisely as possible. This is because the maxim has negative implications as well, as Cardinal Wyszynski pointed out in one of his sermons--the link between church and nation must not be confused with any sort of nationalism. In three series of sermons delivered at Warsaw's Church of the Holy Cross in three consecutive years--in January of 1974, 1975 and 1976--the primate spoke at length about the basic importance of the family and the nation--these constitute the natural environment which shapes the spiritual development of the individual. Wishing to avoid misunderstandings of any kind, Cardinal Wyszynski stated explicitly:

"In exalting the concepts of family and nation problems and proclaiming the nation's right to cultural and economic sovereignty, we wish to make it clear that we are not professing any revived form of nationalism, but merely calling attention to certain basic elements of Catholic social and political ethics."

A rudimentary knowledge of the spiritual legacy left by Cardinal Wyszynski is quite sufficient to understand that few people in our times were as consistent as the primate in distancing themselves from all forms of totalitarianism and nationalism. I want to emphasize this clearly, because the concepts the nation and of human were at the core of the cardinal's social teachings. Synthesizing these two concepts, the cardinal left nothing at all in his writings that could possibly be used to interpret his emphasis on national issues as a manifestation of nationalism. After all, such trends did exist before World War II and still make themselves felt occasionally in Polish Catholicism. Consequently, the primate's clear-cut formulations and the fact that he used the word 'nationalism' pejoratively more than once, are of crucial importance to the ideological foundations of Polish Catholicism.

However, as I have already said, the late primate was consistent in calling on the church to serve the nation and understand its needs and desires. It is a psychological and moral rule of sorts that human desires tend to be maximalistic and romantic, since it is hard to accept some half-way measures as the nation's ultimate objectives. All nations want complete spiritual and cultural freedom, sovereignty and independence, which is hardly surprising at the present stage in the development of historical, social and national consciousness.

Yet it is equally true that we live in a divided world, one filled with tensions, which often come close to threatening the existence of the human race. Under these circumstances, the means and methods of achieving the nation's objectives should generally be realistic ones. The combination of maximalistic and romantic objectives and realistic methods produces rational policies, which either place emphasis on the chance of moving toward ultimate objectives or else stress and need to make allowances for circumstances of time and place, so as not to endanger the nation's biological existence or the country's economic and international position. I am not just concerned here with glib slogans or terminological niceties. There have been several occasions in Poland's postwar history when Polish society was successful in its pursuit of objectives that were perhaps more long-term than maximalistic, yet nevertheless involved serious changes in the country's public life. On the other hand, we all know that the basic coordinates of Poland's international position have not changed significantly since World War II, and it is these that determine what is possible and what is impossible in Poland's internal politics.

Given the objective situation described above, let us examine what it means to say that the church should side with the nation. I sometimes encounter inaccurate interpretations of how this maxim affected Cardinal Wyszynski's strategy. People say that the young Wyszynski was a romantic, since he landed himself in prison, but he later became a realist, fearing that various factors might prove extremely dangerous to the country. This distinction is clearly false and is disproved by the facts. The young Wyszynski sought a compromise for as long as he considered that this was in the interests of the church, of human rights and of the nation as a whole. With this in mind, the late primate

not only took the initiative to hold talks, but also signed the first agreement in history between a communist government and a Catholic Episcopate. It was only later, when the agreement no longer served any purpose and the cardinal had concluded that its letter and spirit were being undermined, that he preferred to go to prison. It is worth stressing here that at practically every stage in Poland's post-war history the primate first applied realistic measures to protect the basic rights of the church, of man and of the nation. This strategy collapsed on two occasions, producing serious tensions in relations between church and state. In the 70's, however, the primate concluded that his efforts had produced a certain amount of success, open conflict had been avoided. Naturally, the situation in the 70's and after was different, with a considerable revitalization of public life and the emergence of dynamic liberal tendencies which to some extent changed the balance of social forces in Poland. In any case, the primate's strategy was always far removed from the simplistic picture that his initial militancy later gave way to a more compromising attitude. In fact, it was never a question of these two alternatives, the cardinal was always a maximalist and a romantic in relation to long-term national objectives yet a moderate realist in selecting methods which corresponded to the given situation. This not only brought successes for the church and the nation, but also won the cardinal the respect of his former ideological opponents. However, let us not be deluded into thinking that Cardinal Wyszynski did not meet with criticism. He did, and it was often either sharp or unfair. Although the primate often found it painful, he never allowed it to affect his positions, which stemmed from profound knowledge and a keen social instinct. It was not until the final years of his life that most critics were won over to the primate, and even then most of them were guided by selfish reasons, but then that is the way life is.

Cardinal Wyszynski's experiences do not provide a set of ready prescriptions to be followed by the church and the nation, as the primate himself did not employ the same, simple methods for 30 years, but adapted his line and methods to correspond to the circumstances and the social situation at any given time. One lesson, however, can clearly be drawn from the cardinal's experiences. The late primate's public speeches were always characterized by the maintenance of due proportion and balance between long-term and maximalistic tasks involving questions of the nation and freedom, and a realistic perception of the balance of forces and the options currently open. This can be seen in the aforementioned series of sermons, where the primate openly spoke of "the nation's right to cultural and economic sovereignty," while showing restraint when discussing constitutional amendments introduced at the time. This restraint contributed to the success of his policy. An exceptional talent for combining principles with reality made it possible for the cardinal to influence developments in Poland without abandoning any of his principles; his voice was understood by the governing and the governed alike. I am absolutely convinced that all of us, the entire church in Poland, should follow the primate's example, since it is obvious that our ideological message should not only be deeply rooted in reality, but also find its way to Polish society's consciousness. We must also bear in mind the fact that the consciousness of today's Polish public is not only developed, but also extremely sensitive, due to the upheavals which Polish society has recently gone through. Therefore, siding with the nation today largely means speaking a language that the public understands, one that reflects its dreams and aspirations.

There is no doubt, however, that the church's obligation to side with the nation extends beyond grasping and respecting society's aspirations. It also includes the duty of reminding society of the needs, problems and dangers it faces, as society is not always fully conscious of all these. Public consciousness largely centers of Poland's national identity and spiritual and cultural independence, as these issues are an important component of this country's existence. We should not, however, forget other factors, such as the critical level of biological contamination of the population, especially the younger generation, the rapidly growing threat to the environment, and the disastrous process of disinvestment in Poland. These things are public knowledge and are even discussed widely. The church, in talking of the right of individuals and society as a whole to freedom and independence, cannot ignore the civilizational and material factors which influence human development. I would even run the risk of saying that humanist and cultural values are so strongly felt by Polish society that it is particularly important to place greater stress on the problem of the falling level of civilization. This should not be done to belittle the significance of freedom and independence, but rather to make the public aware of the enormous influence that material factors have on human dignity and the all-round development of the individual. Cardinal Wyszynski was extremely concerned about these matters as well, speaking on several occasions about the living conditions of various social groups--farmers, workers, small private manufacturers, and also those professionally involved in culture.

It should also be stressed that the church sides with the nation in order to reinforce, not weaken, society's role as the conscious subject of its own actions. It would be a great misunderstanding to believe that the church would like to instruct contemporary society--with its pluralism of outlooks--on any lay matters. To examine society's needs and desires and to indicate its social and moral rights, social problems, and the moral responsibilities of each individual is one thing; to usurp the right to the tasks and matters which determine society's role as a conscious subject is quite another. That is why the church does not want to propose any social structures or forms of organization; society itself should develop these spontaneously. Those who believe that in the present crisis the church would be willing to involve itself in organizing a political movement or its own trade unions are in grave error. Tasks of this kind should be undertaken by the public, not the church. This is precisely what society's subjective role means. In supporting pluralism within society, the church sometimes tries to assist and mediate in the process of achieving a compromise. But the church does not set itself socio-political tasks.

Certain contradictory opinions on the church have recently been expressed. Some people accuse the church of hidden political ambitions, exaggerating its political power and influence, while on other occasions these same people accuse it of not having tackled certain social problems which have a decisive influence on the situation and atmosphere in the country. This reflects a confusion between the church's religious influence and its political influence. Realizing the factual importance of society's religious beliefs, those in government display understanding for many religious needs. However, this certainly does not mean that the church is a political force capable of reversing the course of political developments in this country. Any such ideas are pure illusions. Besides, in a world divided into rival military and political blocs, Poland's affairs have to be viewed in the context of international alignments.

When martial law was imposed in Poland, the church did all that was in its power to do. It intervened on behalf of prisoners and internees, and was successful in many dramatic cases. It distributed an immense amount of foreign aid. It submitted concrete proposals on basic matters involving the trade unions, social questions and economic affairs. The documents relating to all these matters are in part known to the public. Others will also be made public. Every single Polish bishop, without exception, visited detention centers, some of them doing so repeatedly. The church joined in the call for a general amnesty, and is still devoting a lot of attention to this matter. The church has also initiated a campaign to assist private farmers. Its initiatives, efforts and endeavors have been so numerous that it would be difficult to list them all. Sometimes I hear cutting remarks to the effect that the results of these efforts have been modest. I do not think that this can be said of the church's humanitarian activities. Statistics will bear me out.

On the other hand, the results of the church's efforts as regards basic matters of general importance have disappointed all those who accuse the church of interfering in politics while exaggerating its role and influence in this regard. As long as it was possible, the church raised certain demands. When events subsequently took a different course, the Episcopate had no desire to delude society. Yet it has never backed down on the principles of its social teachings.

Since the church contains not only a divine, but also a human element, errors and indiscretions have proved unavoidable, especially during the present very difficult and dramatic period. History will judge all this from a proper perspective. Personally, I am quite confident that in the final analysis this judgment will be in the church's favor.

One great misunderstanding requires to be cleared up. The church in Poland is definitely not a powerful political force which can freely influence the situation as it pleases. However, the church is morally powerful, thanks to its strong connection with the nation. This connection has a dual character. It is first and foremost a religious connection, which expresses itself primarily in the spiritual life of millions of believers. The situation here is highly encouraging, largely due to Pope John Paul II's two pilgrimages to his homeland. However, even in the area of religion, we cannot ignore the contradiction between the mass character of religious belief and the actual state of individual and social morality.

Alongside the religious aspect of the church's connection with the nation, there is also another aspect, one that involves the church's expression of spiritual and cultural values which agree with both the principles of faith and the desires of society. This is the result of Poland's historical link with Roman and Christian culture and the system of values which it has given the world. These two aspects of the church's activity deeply root it in Polish society. However, they do not constitute political power. But then, political power is not the church's objective.

CSO: 2600/947

EDITOR OF ECONOMIC WEEKLY EXPLAINS POLICY

Warsaw ITD in Polish No 13, 25 Mar 84 pp 16, 17

[Interview with Andrzej Nalecz-Jawecki conducted by Tomasz Niemirski: "The Bugbear An Altercation With Andrzej Nalecz-Jawicki, editor-in-chief of the weekly VETO"]

[Text] Question: You're very good at giving interviews in which you talk about everything but yourself.

Answer: I'm too fond of praising myself to say any more about myself than they do here or elsewhere.

Question: Are you sure they say only good things about you?

Answer: They say different things about me, like about everyone else.

Question: Yet you let your subordinates extol you.

Answer: Why should I speak about myself? Should I say I have had trouble with my son? That I have one shorter finger? All this is true, but who cares?

Question: But there are more interesting matters involving you?

Answer: Shoot.

Question: VETO was founded in the spring of 1982. Who needed such a journal then?

Answer: What do you mean, who needed it? Consumers, readers, Poles!

Question: But decisions to establish new journals are made at the top. If you remember, curfew was still in force at that time.

Answer: Look, I didn't care if anyone at the top needed VETO. Long before that I had pondered the idea of creating a journal for consumers, showing problems through the man-in-the-street's eyes. The fact that it began during martial law was purely coincidental. Right from the start, I knew such a journal was badly needed by Polish consumers, who need a journal dealing with everyday consumer problems--not with ideology, politics, or some obscure developments in the African bush, but only with everyday problems a Polish citizen regularly

confronts. Has any journal ever told citizens how they should defend themselves, say, against Poland's dairy industry, which has been poisoning Polish society for 40 years now?

Question: That doesn't answer my question.

Answer: I want you to realize that VETO was not ordered by anyone, but founded by a group of people who firmly believed that precisely such a journal was needed by people.

Question: There are many such groups of ardent believers, but they can't even dream of their own journal.

Answer: That's not my business. I and other members of the Journalists' Club for Market and Consumer Problems (in which VETO was born as an idea) wanted a journal; we, and all people, have it now.

Question: Do you believe any journal, even one with a high circulation, can really stymie ill trends in the economy?

Answer: VETO isn't there to reform the economy! VETO wants to be a bugbear, to cause stirs, to make this or that business director think twice before he signs some horrendous price tag or allows some defective product to be sold. A handful of journalists have never yet rehabilitated the world. If someone tells me, "Look, you're not going to save Poland," I tell him, "Look, you may kiss my ass."

Question: Anyway, I do doubt whether you can expect any specific product to improve in quality without changing an economy's overall rules.

Answer: Changing the rules is the job of ministers, thousands of directors and chairmen. A journal's job is quite different. Still, you can't say we are concerned with outward appearances alone, because right from the beginning we have been demanding changes in the system, such as a Sejm law on combating mismanagement. Had there been no squandering of raw materials, production components, capital, time and umpteen other assets, Poland would be in a different position now. In my view, wastefulness is the chief cause of the crisis.

Question: Do you frankly believe that wastefulness is to blame for everything?

Answer: I do, because it cost Poland enormous losses and set off detrimental developments in the Polish economy. Poles have grown accustomed to, and tolerant of, waste. Three wagonloads of fish stink? So what? A hundred tons of butter became rancid? I couldn't care less. Meat products turning green? None of my business. Several tons of rotting oranges? A trifle. Hundreds of investment projects in a mess? Oh, come on. Idleness during working hours? Who cares? And so on and so forth. I demand to know the punishment for those who built that huge but totally useless skyscraper in [Warsaw's] Dzierzynski Square? Or those who allow flour reserves to be invaded by insects? I would burn their feet!

Question: Do you mean to say that passing a law to combat wastefulness will change the situation?

Answer: Not, of course, right away. But such a law would furnish conditions for a change to the better. We'll at long last have some weapon in hand, because the Penal Code allows punishment only for seizing somebody else's property.

Question: In the entire Chapter 30 of the Penal Code, not a word is said about seizing property; it is precisely about waste through mismanagement. The penalties are very severe, maybe less severe than burning the culprit's feet, but still....

Answer: But this chapter mentions only those who fail to discharge their duties, and it's bloody difficult to prove anyone's guilt with regard to this provision.

Question: Are you implying that economic losses result from working by the rules?

Answer: Not quite. The Penal Code's provisions cannot be properly taken advantage of, because I never heard of those who waste hundreds of tons of butter, meat, spaghetti, tomatoes, milk etc, being put on trial.

Question: Now you are exaggerating a bit. But if that's your view, then why is VETO dealing with such trifling matters compared to a situation in which the entire economy from A to Z must be changed?

Answer: I think I have already answered this question. Everybody has his own job to do.

Question: I'm not going to let you off so easily. I charge you and your journal with having wasted two precious years on demanding a superfluous law! In the meantime you could, say, have pressed the justice minister and the prosecutor-general to avail themselves of existing Penal Code provisions more often.

Answer: [...] If you're such a specialist on codes, you must know that Polish laws also provide for combating profiteering, and yet nobody questioned the point of passing an extraordinary anti-profiteering law. Now, just why did they pass this law, if they could avail themselves of existing provisions? I think the Sejm did this in order to underline [public] disapproval of profiteering. The same is true of wastefulness.

Question: There you are! You say, underline. But there is nothing to underline, only to counteract. But VETO specializes in underlining and not in authentically and effectively combating adverse things.

Answer: Has ITD [which is a students' weekly] succeeded in effectively combating a single instance of waste?

Question: Look, I asked a question first. Secondly, you have said that everybody should do his own job--the government should introduce the reform, VETO should fight prodigals, and ITD should deal with its own problems.

Answer: You make me laugh. Let others do the dirty job, while we are going to stand by comfortably just watching them do this, eh?

Question: I'm not denying that VETO has managed to get a few things straight. Yet sometimes I wonder about its methods. Your overriding rule seems to be: scream as loud as possible. I hope you won't tell me an appeal to [Distribution and Services] Minister Lakomiec or to [Supreme Chamber of Control Chairman] General Hupalowski will be more effective when printed in huge type all across your page than when it simply lands on the proper desk?

Answer: You rely on rumors and fail to see what's happening. This appeal to Hupalowski concerning Poland's dairy industry caused a comprehensive nationwide audit of this industry! The appeal to Lakomiec to abolish rationing of notebooks for schoolchildren resulted in this rationing being lifted. There were also several appeals to Minister [for Prices] Krasinski for reimbursing the excess money paid--especially by young married couples--for furniture during the brief period when increased prices were introduced for these products. ITD was cosily sleeping then, even though it was also your concern. But then, looking at somebody's affairs is an easy thing to do, only doing something yourself is hard. In this case, again, we succeeded in our battle--the excess money was paid back, including to young couples. I understand you work for a journal which writes this or that, but later doesn't give a damn about how your actions are developing. If that's meant to be an honest altercation, then I insist you print what I have just said!

Question: I'm saying one thing and you another. I didn't ask how effective your actions were, but why they are printed on entire columns in VETO? We're doing the same thing, only slightly differently. Shall I say less noisily?

Answer: One of the ministers I mentioned has very bad eyesight.

Question: Now don't try to be funny, answer my question.

Answer: That's no joke, it's the truth. Such an appeal is also noticed by readers, while you're furious at not having had the idea yourselves. It's envy, dear friend, envy.

Question: You're joking. Why should we envy somebody for so crassly showing off with his actions? VETO is anxious to underline one thing, while showing off with another. This is exhibitionism!

Answer: Which is ultimately effective! Let me repeat--VETO isn't there to tackle affairs of the state, the government, industry, the economy or the like, but ordinary everyday problems of ordinary people. What can I do if your magnificent journal--if you pardon my saying so--chooses to deal with trivia to really fight for things?

Question: Now, come on. Affairs of the state, the government, industry, and the economy are trivia, while notebook rationing is the number-one issue?

Answer: That's not what I meant. We are fighting for such things, and we have been successful, because it is not just appeals to ministers which are effective. Many a trashy product was struck off production lists after we had shown our yellow or red [warning] cards to producers.

Question: Let's change the topic. You were the moving spirit and first chairman of Poland's Consumer Federation. Why was this federation not suspended under martial law?

Answer: I held several government-level talks, and I took personal responsibility for the federation abiding by the law.

Question: In September 1982, you ceased being the federation's chairman. Why?

Answer: I refuse to answer.

Question: Was this connected with being VETO's editor-in-chief, and with your membership, from September 1982, in the commission initiating the Patriotic Movement for National Revival (PRON) and subsequently in the PRON National Council?

Answer: I'm not going to say any more on this, because it is very complex to try to account for the coincidence of these facts. Maybe we should talk about the new, more numerous consumer organization, the VETO-sponsored consumer circle?

Question: Is a journal as much of a commodity as, say, bread or a bicycle?

Answer: Certainly it is. I know that ITD is appreciated for the high artistic level of its back-page [nude] pictures, which for heavens' sake go on printing, please.

Question: I'm going to retaliate in kind. I think VETO should show a yellow card to the weekly VETO for having willfully deceived readers with its article on a porno shop [allegedly to open in Warsaw].

Answer: You still remember this after such a long time? Oh, Christ! I believe this reflects a sick interest in such matters for a youth journal, because young people need no sex aids. But, seriously, that was indeed a blunder--we let down all consumers who do need such aids.

Question: What about the yellow card, then?

Answer: If you insist on looking at things this way, we ought also to show a yellow card to Minister Krasinski for having once promised delicious crispy rolls [after food prices were increased], and yet we didn't.

Question: First, the crispy rolls were promised when VETO wasn't yet in sight. Second, the minister was sure the rolls would indeed be there, while VETO knew right from the start the minister was lying! Aren't you afraid that if you fail those who trust you only once, you may never again regain your credibility?

Answer: You can't lose your credibility by playing a practical joke, especially not over "French ticklers." There are hardly any copies that go unsold. Issue No 3 of this year, for instance, had an 0.6 percent return of unsold copies.

Question: That's because it contained the story about "The Naked Party Games."

Answer: Issue No 4 had an 0.4 percent return index.

Question: With "The Lascivious Turk!"

Answer: All right, but you don't buy a journal every week just for a single article.

Question: I proved you guilty of a blatant lie, and yet you and your colleagues seem to have no qualms at all.

Answer: I'm sorry for you and your colleagues having so many qualms--I can see clearly how frustrated you are.

Question: Let readers decide this. Besides, job satisfaction is not the point, but rather the fact that there is hardly a VETO issue in which you wouldn't boast about how difficult it is to buy your journal at stands, or what an excellent journal yours is.

Answer: If people write to us that they can't get hold of a copy of VETO, then we print it. Besides, it's not true that we publicly call our selves an excellent journal, though in fact we are one indeed!

Question: Not true? Then look--here's what you wrote in No 4, "We're a good, not to mention an excellent, journal."

Answer: Granted, that's one for you. I must have overlooked that.

Question: Don't you feel all this is a bit heavy-handed? If you can sell virtually all copies, that is good enough advertising. Writing on the front-page, "VETO Is One Year Old: Baby Still Kicking" betokens a kind of pushiness.

Answer: Why does this bother you? Isn't it simply envy?

Question: There's a Cracow-based journal which you'll hardly see lying waiting for buyers in newsstands, and yet I haven't noticed they emphasized this fact in their journal.

Answer: You probably mean PRZEKROJ. It's a good journal.

Question: I don't mean PRZEKROJ [TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY is presumably meant]. But let's return to your problems. Your erotica have gained notoriety.

Answer: Too much, in fact. I have declared a relentless war against them, and I'm determined to cancel any such texts from now on.

Question: Will you go on publishing addresses of nude beaches?

Answer: Certainly! We have a full collection of such addresses, and we're going to start publishing from May onwards. Nudity is outstanding recreation, and we're not only committed to denouncing evils but also to praising good things.

Question: In conclusion, let us discuss VETO's pride action. What should be the Warsaw Voivodship Court's sentence for the dairy industry?

Answer: The harshest possible sentence! The Central Union of Dairy Cooperatives (CZSM), as a classic monopoly, which also fails to carry out its basic functions, should be dissolved. The CZSM board treats individual cooperatives in a purely instrumental manner, and there is no link between those who work hardest, i.e. farmers, and the CZSM board. CZSM's operations are scandalous; which I'm even afraid to touch upon in a brief interview. We have printed tons of paper with stories on this topic.

Question: What are we going to eat and drink if a verdict of "guilty" is indeed passed?

Answer: We're going to drink milk and eat dairy products. We are generating competition. I have offered 10,000 zloty from my personal earnings (and I add 1,000 zloty every 3 months to this) as a reward for somebody who comes up with the best idea for making this industry healthy again. CZSM's monopoly power is already beginning to be shaken. State farms (PGR's), for example, have undertaken to deliver milk and simple dairy products directly to shops. Maybe farmers will create their own cooperatives?

Question: What's your personal satisfaction from this?

Answer: Trouble alone. Yet, I believe that journalism makes sense only when it fights for something. Otherwise you turn into a worn slipper, a dull and sad clerk, or a parrot. But there are so many things which a journalist may fight for in his own interest and in the interest of citizens. We would be happy to join forces with ITD, for instance, to get dwellings for newly married couples, to improve consumer goods for young people, or to ensure better vacation facilities.

CSO: 2600/946

INFLUENCE OF CULTURE OUTSIDE OF COUNTRY DESCRIBED

Warsaw ZDANIE in Polish Jan 84 [no page number]

[Article by Marek Debowski: "Polish Culture Abroad"]

[Text] "What does the word Poland mean over there?" asked Boy [a leading pre-war Polish critic, columnist, translator, poet and satirist] in 1927, whereupon he immediately provided the answer himself: "It is often an old etching hanging on a wall, showing Prince Joseph in the waves of the Elster [Joseph Poniatowski, officer of the fifth corps of the Napoleonic army during the 1812 campaign, who drowned in this river while covering Napoleon's retreat from Leipzig] or the well-known 'l'ordre regne a Varsovie,' it is the tradition of Polish martyrdom. Sometimes the papers write about Poland's complex internal situation, which no one understands. The ubiquitous 'Polish bandits', the workers' question--all in all, there is not too much. This sketchy information is added to the traditional hazy view of Russia, which is transposed on to Poland, and certain ideas begin to emerge. These ideas are often rather strange--from climate, through language, to culture. There is a wide gap between the Nobel Prize and bears that are believed to stroll up and down the streets in winter.

"Do Polish theaters stage French plays? Yes, they do, in fact Moliere's 'L'Ecole Des Femmes' is on at the moment. In Polish?--asked a university professor. I was lost for words."

Like any good journalist, Boy sometimes exaggerated. This story, however, does not sound all that time-worn. It is nice to quote it to enliven journalistic prose, but we must not forget that Poland's culture had been propagated in Europe many years before Boy started his "pastoral" tours, initiated to spread knowledge about Poland.

It would be a truism to mention in this respect the lectures given by Adam Mickiewicz at Le College de France, attended by the cream of Paris intellectuals, with George Sand and Chopin in the first row. But much less is known about the role that Mickiewicz's patriotic poetry played among Garibaldi's 'thousand' in Italy. The same applies to 19th century translations of his "Ode To Youth" and "Conrad Wallenrod" in Bohemia and Croatia. The first translations of these works had already appeared in those territories by the 1830's, more for political than artistic reasons [...].

A great deal more could be said about the past influence of Polish culture abroad. Particularly when Poland regained its independence after World War I. The minister of culture from 1919 on, Zenon Przesmycki, had great plans in this regard. Because of drastic cuts in the state budget, the ministry was closed down in 1922, yet this had little effect on Poland's cultural and artistic contacts with the world. In the inter-war period, Poland's cultural contacts with some countries, especially France, became an organized offensive to convince Europe that Poland's cultural heritage was in every way that of the Mediterranean.

However, it is not history that I am concerned with in this article, but the present day. Or to be more precise, the influence Polish culture has had abroad since martial law. This influence largely depends on several institutions which propagate and promote Polish culture abroad. I shall move on to a brief assessment of their achievements over the last 3 years in a little while. The historical introduction was essential to emphasize the importance of continuity and tradition in matters of culture and dispel any illusions that the attitude of the contemporary Italian, Russian or German toward Poland is shaped solely by the activities of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or the Ministry of Culture and the Arts.

For several decades now, all modern countries (including those which have ambitions of being modern) have considered promotion of their national culture to be an extremely significant factor in building up their position in the "global village" in which we live. Poland is doing its best not to lower its sights here, although nobody is still trying to claim that it ranks among the top 10 countries in international culture [...]. In 1981-82, years that were particularly difficult for Polish foreign policy, culture was one of the few areas where this country's contacts with the world were maintained at anything like an adequate level. This is why, despite Poland's balance of payments problems, Poles continued their work in around 80 international organizations grouping artists and cultural activists, organizations this country has belonged to for years. However, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs makes no secret of the fact that there is no field of Poland's cultural activity abroad which has not suffered because of the crisis.

As regards the socialist countries, with whom Poland renews agreements on cultural cooperation every 5 years, contacts have dropped off to the level they were at several years ago. This, of course, did not happen overnight. Such things as the "Message to the Nations of Eastern Europe" and the "Congress of Polish Culture" put the Polish authorities in an extremely difficult position. This was aggravated by private statements made by Polish artists on official visits to Moscow, Prague or Berlin. With the introduction of martial law, Poland's credibility among the socialist countries began to be restored. It is significant that the first working meeting of officials from the ministries of culture of the socialist countries was held as early as January 1982. Soon after, Polish Cultural and Information Centers operating in East Germany (Leipzig, Berlin), Czechoslovakia (Bratislava, Prague), Hungary (Budapest) and Bulgaria (Sofia) took a series of major propaganda initiatives to restore confidence in Poland and explain Poland's current policies. The most important of these initiatives were linked to the 100th anniversary of the Polish workers' movement,

commemorated in 1982. In 1983, on the other hand, these cultural centers concentrated on the 40th anniversary of Poland's socialist army. The program of events which accompanied these two anniversaries included around 130 concerts, 270 showings of feature films and 750 showings of documentary ones, and 60 exhibitions. In addition, several thousand copies of promotional leaflets were published and over 150 symposia and conferences were held on the current situation in Poland [...]. It is highly likely that within 2-3 years the presentation of Poland's culture in other socialist countries should reach the level of the late 1970's. However, this means carefully screening the ideological content of cultural programs--this is particularly essential at the present moment--and ensuring high artistic standards.

The situation as regards Western Europe is totally different. The proclamation of martial law meant that cultural contacts were broken off overnight. Although such countries as France, Great Britain or West Germany did not actually announce an official boycott of Poland, a boycott was in fact introduced, and to some extent is still in force. The position of Polish Institutes in London, Stockholm, Paris and Vienna is an excellent example in this regard. Since these are run by embassies (the respective cultural attache is automatically each institute's director), boycotting their activities became one of the actions taken against Poland.

The situation was further complicated by Poland's isolation during the first months of martial law and the increased activity of the "new emigres," who claimed to be the only credible representatives of Polish culture. The following figures indicate how much ground was lost: The Polish Institute in Paris organized 38 art exhibitions in 1980, yet only 13 in 1983. In 1981 it organized 112 film shows and 21 lectures and meetings, while in 1983 these numbers dwindled to 29 and 4, respectively. In 1980 the Polish Institute in London held 32 exhibitions, presented 107 films and organized 21 lectures and meetings--the respective figures for 1983 were nine, 39 and 10. Admittedly, the situation is now beginning to improve. These countries' governments are changing their attitudes, and the hostile propaganda of the emigres is dying down as their funds dry up. These positive tendencies will in all probability be consolidated, since the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is fully aware of the potential damage that a loss of the crucial West European cultural market would involve. One sign of the way things are going was an exhibition entitled "Poland's Presence," held recently in the Pompidou Center in Paris. The exhibition presented the French public with the most outstanding contemporary achievements of Polish art and the Polish cinema, while the Polish stage was represented by Tadeusz Kantor's theater group Cricot-2. Several dozen meetings and press conferences were also held. Another major event, on an even greater scale, was Poland's participation in the celebrations of John III Sobieski's victory over the Turks during the relief of Vienna 300 years ago, which took place this autumn in the Austrian capital. I should also mention the first top-level contacts that have been made. Last November, Poland signed agreements on cultural and scientific cooperation with Norway and France. Similar agreements are expected to be signed with several other European countries in the coming months.

A distinct trend in Poland's present foreign policy is to step up cooperation with the developing countries. In this context, cultural contacts are seen as

initiating and strengthening economic and political relations. An important consideration for Poland's authorities is that, from 13 December 1981, up to the present day, these countries have not shown any tendency to limit or boycott contacts. Political reasons have not been the only determining factors here. Economic considerations have been just as important. It is Poland that provides the money for promoting Polish culture in the developing countries (unlike in the socialist and capitalist countries). There are, of course, some tours and engagements that are profitable--when a Polish artist is taken on as the conductor of the Buenos Aires Philharmonic or as a first violinist in Mexico. However, Poland's balance of payments in cultural trade with the developing countries will never show a surplus. Given this situation, the crisis has had an even greater effect. Although Poland has generally managed to carry out its cultural contracts (over 30 in all, including 20 with countries in Africa and the Middle East, four with Asian ones and two with Latin American ones) it has been forced to reduce the number of tours and give up the idea of organizing Polish days or weeks in those countries. To make up for this, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Culture and the Arts have paid greater attention to promoting less expensive forms of culture, i.e., chamber orchestras, films and translations of Polish literature. Since Poland will in all probability set even greater store by its relations with the developing countries in the future, let us examine the areas of culture in which Poland is most involved. First of all, there is Poland's participation in major international events. These include the International Biennium of Contemporary Arts in Sao Paulo (Brazil), in which Poland has been participating for 20 years, the Festival of Music and Theater in Guanajuato (Mexico), the Festival of World Theater in Caracas (Venezuela), the Jazz Jantra Festival in Delhi (India), and film festivals in Mexico, Panama, Columbia, Brazil, the Philippines and Egypt.

Specialist assistance in restoring historical monuments also accounts for a large part of Poland's cultural "exports" to the developing countries. Polish specialists are conducting archaeological and ethnographic research in many countries. Researchers from Warsaw's Ethnographic Museum are carrying out permanent explorations in Mexico, Colombia, Mozambique, Nigeria, Algeria, Tunisia, Afghanistan and Pakistan, while Poznan's Archaeological Museum is conducting research in the Sudan and Algeria.

Joint Polish-U.S. explorations along the Blue Nile are to start this year. International contacts, together with the high standing of Polish specialists internationally, often bear fruit in the form of well-paid contracts. For example, Poles are renovating the Quito Temple in Ecuador, listed by UNESCO as a monument of world culture. Another venture that seems to be highly profitable is the construction of a sanctuary of revolution in Algeria, which has been designed by M. Konieczny.

One of the guests at the opening ceremony, scheduled to take place shortly, is to be Poland's Minister of Culture and the Arts.

Polish culture owes its position in the world to Poland's current foreign policy, which aims to develop the traditional bonds of friendship which link Poland to other countries. However, the present achievements of Polish culture are not enough to give it a permanent presence in other countries. This applies to the successes scored by the Polish cinema, by Grotowski and Kantor, by the famous

Polish school of poster art, and even by Penderecki, whose works have been admired throughout the world. Although all of these are great achievements by world standards, this kind of art, no matter how many millions admire it, cannot replace the experience of an individual who wants to acquire a detailed knowledge of Poland, either out of sentiment for the "Old Country," or out of an academic thirst for knowledge. This kind of personal contact with Poland, which requires a good knowledge of Polish, produces the most natural ambassadors for our culture. Some of these people are as prominent as Roza Bailly and Paul Cazin in France, or Karl Dedecius in Germany.

Poland's presence abroad is also consolidated by departments of Polish language and literature spread throughout the world from Lisbon to Tokyo and from Berkeley to Moscow. There are 12 Polish departments in France, eight in West Germany, five in Italy, two in Austria and one each in Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Belgium, Spain, Great Britain, Portugal, India and Japan. The Polish language is also taught at university level in all the socialist countries of Europe. The majority of faculty members at these departments are academics from Poland. Their work is regulated by scientific agreements with the respective countries (this applies to all the socialist countries, Italy and France) or agreements between particular universities (as is the case in the USA). However, there is an immense difference between the Polish department in Sofia, for example--founded many years ago by Professor Bojan Penev, whose wife, Dora Gabe, is the author of masterly translations of Kasprzowicz's poetry--and the Polish department in Lisbon, founded 4 years ago thanks to the enterprise of one individual. These differences are not just produced by objective conditions. They often result from a lack of proper supervision on the part of the relevant Polish institutions (the Ministry of Education and Science and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) or sometimes from a failure to provide adequate training for the lecturers themselves. This is not a question of professional qualifications--a sound knowledge of Polish language and literature and of the language of the given country are obviously essential conditions for this kind of work.

However, even excellent teachers of Polish have to overcome totally different working conditions and different expectations on the part of both students and university authorities. The Studium Polonicum Institute which has been operating at Warsaw University since 1956 partly subsidized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) trains lecturers of Polish language and literature to work abroad. The institute trains foreigners as well. In fact, these post-graduate courses for Polish lecturers are only a marginal activity for the institute. Around 160 Slavonic language specialists from all over the world study there every year (Polish departments abroad are usually part of Institutes of Slavonic Languages). The institute also organizes classes for around 60 translators and lecturers of Polish literature. In addition, it publishes textbooks, provides lecturers with other essential books and magazines, and prepares reports on Polish departments throughout the world. According to the administrative staff at the Studium Polonicum, in recent years interest in the Polish language has not waned, despite all the difficulties. The number of people studying Polish abroad is constantly increasing. Only in 1982 were there more places at the institute than students. The situation has now returned to normal, with more applications from people wanting to enter the institute than it can provide places.

Any presentation of the diverse aspects of Polish culture abroad must of necessity be selective and eclectic. In recent years, the opinion that the world has of Poland has changed for the worse. It often seems that the only positive thing to be said is that "the arts have always been Poland's best product," a sentiment expressed long ago by the immoral Boy. This has a touch of bitterness about it, but perhaps, God willing, this is one situation that will not change.

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